SOCIAL SCIENCES

OCTOBER, 1936

THE CRISIS

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DEATH FLAG

(See page 293)

MESSAGE TO VOTERS

STATEMENTS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

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Volume 43, No. 10 *Whole No. 310*

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The Crisis was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while The Crisis uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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THE COVER

As a method of publicizing and protesting against lynching the N.A.A.C.P. hung out a flag from its office at 69 Fifth avenue, New York City, on September 8. The flag bears the legend "A Man Was Lynched Yesterday" and marked the lynching on September 6 of A. L. McCamy in Dalton, Ga. The lynching was the ninth recorded by the Association for 1936. It is planned to hang the flag after every lynching. The banner is six by ten feet and is black with white lettering.

NEXT MONTH

The November issue will be a youth number containing a number of articles dealing with the problems of youth and of the youth councils of the N.A.A.C.P. and their program for 1936 and '37.

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A section of the November issue will be given over to children. Photographs and information should reach THE CRISIS office not later than October 2.

•

In early issues of THE CRISIS will be an article on the "equality" of schools in Virginia; a sketch by Norman MacLeod; and a piece by Benjamin F. Klein on Justice Harlan and Human Rights.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Norman Thomas is the Socialist candidate for President; Francis E. Rivers is head of the Republican campaign among Negroes in the East; Thomas W. Myles is handling publicity for the Union Party for colored people.

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Socialism's Appeal to Negroes

By Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas, valiant champion of the underprivileged, who is thoroughly familiar with the plight of the Negro, makes a thoughtful appeal here for Negro votes

ONE of the things which has drawn me to Socialism is the fact that it appeals not to one race or creed or nation, but everywhere to men as men and to workers as workers. It emphasizes the humanity that unites us and the plenty and peace and freedom that we can and must enjoy together if they are to remain the secure possessions of any of us.

Nevertheless there is a legitimate sense in which the Socialist may be asked: What does Socialism mean for the young, for the aged, for women, for the farmer, for the city worker? And of all such questions none is more truly in order than the question: What does Socialism mean for the Negro? As a member of that part of our American population most exploited and against whom the worst discrimination has been practiced, he has a right to inquire whether Socialism is aware of his problem and whether it offers him something more than vague personalities and the hope of a future Utopia more distant than the heaven of his fathers.

I have referred to the exploitation of the Negro and I shall have more that is specific to say about it. But first I want to express my admiration of the progress of the Negro since his emancipation. It has been a progress achieved against immense handicaps.

He was freed from chattel slavery after a long, bitter civil war which left the country, in which he had to take up a life of nominal freedom, poverty-stricken and ridden with hate. The nation which freed him did not give him so much as an acre of land to call his own on which to begin life for himself. For long years—yes, even today to a great extent—his interest and needs were made the football of white folk's politics. He was and is deprived of anything like equality of education. In states where education for the children of white workers is a poor thing, it is worse for the colored children.

That under these conditions in the troubled and turbulent life of our epoch the Negro has made such strides as he has is a magnificent achievement.

Nevertheless even in the North—still more in the South—the shadow of the plantation hangs over him. In the states where he is proportionately most numerous he is not free, he cannot vote, he must ride in Jim Crow cars. He must accept gratefully, too, much miserable schooling as ample for his children. His life itself is peculiarly at the mercy not only of the lynch mob but of the white man for whom he works. I have been told of one southern planter who in a long life is alleged to have killed more than 30 Negro sharecroppers and field hands. The excuse was always self-defense. Actually he killed them because they dared to protest against the enormous injustice and mistreatment of them. He was never brought to trial.

Even the Negro worker's brothers in wage slavery are only slowly learning to accept him as a comrade and an equal. Labor union discrimination against Negroes in law and in fact has by no means been abolished even in the North.

This, briefly, is the situation which the Negro confronts. What shall he do about it? What use shall he make of his economic power and his vote where he has a vote? He is definitely of a minority race, a race not determined primarily by biology, but by social convention.

Black Belt Fantastic

It is fantastic to believe that the Negro problem can be solved by segregation in any particular region. That is the last thing which the Negro wants, or for that matter, which the white man wants. The problem of the Negro bears no analogy whatsoever to the problem of different cultural groups in Russia, groups which have more or less located in particular regions, each with its own language. The Negro speaks the language and in general shares the culture of his white neighbors. He wants what they want. It is fantastic for the Communists to propose as a remedy for the Negro problem "self-determination in the black belt." Such self-determination at its best invites segregation of the races and at its worst it invites race war. It does not hasten but impairs the growth of working class solidarity. It denies to Negroes the equality which they seek.

Just as it is fantastically impossible and undesirable to give to the colored Americans a geographical region or regions of their own, so it is undesirable to try to form a Negro society within a white society, wherever Negroes may go.

Our social and economic order is crumbling. The world of capitalism with its class distinctions and class distribution of income is doomed. This of all times is no time for the Negro to set up an imitative capitalist society of his own. The white folks have pretty well monopolized the more advantageous economic positions. The Negro who fights to rise by capitalist standards must content himself in a large degree with the leavings. But even for those leavings his struggle against men of his own race will have to be hard and bitter if he is to emulate the ruthlessness which is inherent in the profit system.

When all is said and done, the relation of landlord and tenant, of banker and borrower, of employer and employee is not miraculously made beautiful if both happen to be Negroes. The aspiring Negro capitalist must be an exploiter in order to be a capitalist.

This argument is an argument against the capitalist system. It is, of course, not an argument against the right of a Negro to fit himself for that work in life for which he has the strongest desire and the most capacity. In no sense is it an argument against education.

But it is an argument for recognition by the Negro of the fact that his hope must lie in the glory and the comradeship which a society of workers irrespective of race can achieve. He has been forced, at times through cruel discipline, to be a worker. Let him help to make that name glorious whether the work he does is of hand or brain. Let the Negro look about him and he will find among his white neighbors men who are learning a new hope and a new loyalty, the loyalty of workers to one another in a struggle for freedom and peace and plenty. It is only by great new loyalties that we banish old hates and prejudices and end ancient discrimination. Above this loyalty to the cooperative commonwealth is the loyalty which crosses lines of race and nation and creed.

New Society Needed

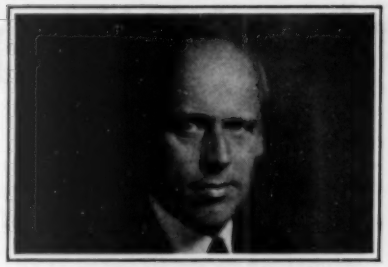
What I am saying is, of course, a plea for Socialism. There are laws which should be passed now in the interest of the Negro. Of that I shall speak later. But there is no law under capitalism which will bring to white workers, or

to colored, plenty, peace, freedom, security against poverty and against war. This requires a new sort of society.

Today the things necessary for the common life of all of us are mostly privately owned. They are managed for the private profits of the owners. This is the system we call capitalism. Under it coal, iron, oil, banks, electric power, public utilities, great factories—all the agencies for producing and distributing wealth are privately owned. Blind men do not sit down and plan how to operate them so that we can have food and clothing and shelter and the good things of life for all our children. They are operated to get profits for owners, mostly absentee owners. And profits depend in the last analysis upon relative scarcity. When Mr. Roosevelt, who certainly meant well when he talked of the abundant life, began to think what to do for the farmers the only idea which he could apply under capitalism was to pay farmers *not* to produce; in other words, to subsidize scarcity and call it prosperity. This is a logical thing under the profit system.

Even the capitalist experts tell us that we now have the productive capacity to make $2,000 or $2,500 a year a minimum wage for an American family. Actually 90 per cent of the American workers, white and colored, get less than $2,000 a year and about 50 per cent less than $1,000 a year. When we can end this poverty and insecurity in the midst of potential plenty we shall have gone a long way to solve our problem.

Did you ever think how much of the bitterness and the jealousy between white and colored workers arises from the fact that there does not seem to be enough to go around? Bosses for their own advantage play up that jealousy. On occasion they cultivate a racial solidarity with their white workers, but only on occasion. Increasingly in America it is true that the methods employed against colored workers are employed against white workers when they displease the bosses. The victims of Florida floggings, yes, of murder itself, have been white men, not Negroes. In Arkansas where white and colored sharecroppers and field workers have got together in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union terrorism and night riding have been more or less indiscriminately employed against both white and colored members of the union. A white minister; yes, and a white woman, were whipped by planters or their agents, as is by now well known, near Earle, Arkansas. This act of violence gives crowning proof of the fact that it is impossible to make one race, and one race only, the victim of the violence of a master class.



NORMAN THOMAS

Frank Weems Case

There is a Negro named Frank Weems whose name deserves to be made a symbol like John Brown's in the struggle for emancipation. Mr. Weems was a leader of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union near Earle, Arkansas. A meeting which he led was broken up by violence. He was beaten until he fell to the ground dead or unconscious. It was to plan for his funeral that the Rev. Claude Williams and Miss Willie Sue Blagden came into Arkansas at the time of the whippings which were administered to them. After this whipping called particular attention to this situation the sheriff of the county, the governor of the state, and as I recall it, Senator Robinson, the great Democratic leader, all affirmed that Weems was not dead and that he would at the right time be produced. Since then some ten weeks have passed. He either is dead or held unlawfully in some place of confinement or intimidated so that he dare not show himself to his nearest and dearest friends. The failure to produce Weems of itself convicts the Democratic party, one of whose most prominent leaders is Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas, of complete insincerity in its professions of devotion to the cause either of the workers or of the Negro.

But it will be observed that it is not the Republicans who have taken up the fight of the sharecroppers. They are responsible for similar acts of tyranny to workers white and black where they or the economic loyalists who belong to them are in control. Frank Weems is a symbol not merely of the shame of the plantation system, but of the shame of capitalism. How can the workers support the old parties which are accomplices in that shame?

But let me get back to my main theme. Once we get planned production for abundance on the basis of social ownership there will be enough and to spare for all. There will be work for all, leisure for all, security for all. The jealousy and bitterness of men who now feel that they have to fight for crusts shall disappear. Socialism gives the economic basis for brotherhood. It upholds the ideals of applied brotherhood. It will create the atmosphere which will end discrimination.

You will see that what I am saying is a plea for Socialism. It is more than just a plea for one campaign. It is an argument for Socialism as the one hope of the world for white and colored alike against war and fascism, against tyranny and exploitation.

But the Socialism which I want to urge on you is not something for the long run which leaves you free today to cast your ballot, if you live where you can vote, on the basis of your conviction as to which of the two old parties is the lesser evil. That way lies fascism. We have got to learn to vote our hopes and not our fears. Socialism is something which appeals for your support now in this election. Unless the forces of Socialism can rapidly gain in this campaign we shall have little with which to resist the drift to war and fascism. Now is the time to act.

A recent article, I think in *Time*, gave the readers the impression that the struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats for the Negro vote in the United States was a struggle mostly carried on by offering to the Negroes jobs and immunity for organized gambling in number games, and the like. The author of that article, perhaps, did a grave injustice to the Negro race. There is, I am sure, far more at stake than that, especially in the minds of readers of THE CRISIS.

About Lynching

May I then venture to remind you that neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has shown an honest interest in ending lynchings. Do you suppose that if either major party, or the President himself in these recent years, had been determined on the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill that it would have been defeated so easily by the threat of Southern filibuster? The answer, of course, is no. What the old party politicians give to the Negroes is what the old party politicians must give to get votes which they need. There may be some honorable individual exceptions, but my statement holds good for the parties as parties. How cheaply can you afford to sell your vote?

By contrast the Socialist party now welcomes you as comrades. It asks you to work with us in the unions and in state and national politics to end discrimination and to establish that equality which treats every man as a man and judges him on his individual merit and capacity. Specifically the Socialist plat-

(*Continued on page 315*)

The Negro Should Support Landon

By Francis E. Rivers

The familiar argument that the South bosses the Democrats is made here by an official spokesman for the G.O.P. in asking votes from colored people

CONSIDERATION of what presidential candidate the colored American citizen should support this fall requires that the continuance of a capitalistic civilization for the next few years be accepted as a premise and the caution to be observed that all arguments be based upon facts national in their significance rather than upon conditions springing from purely local situations.

In view of the fact that the political parties dedicated to the Marxist theories contemplate a different form of economy from the capitalistic one, consideration of party choices set forth in this article, in view of the above limitations, will not include comparisons with the parties following the ideas of Karl Marx. This leaves the question one of whether the colored American should support candidates of the Republican party or of the Democratic party in the coming presidential election.

South Bosses Democrats

Considering realistically and stripping to its fundamentals that relationship: the Democratic party (including the New Deal), and the Negro, we find the following: Because of history and expediency the fundamental policy of the Democratic party toward the Negro must be determined by the South and this fundamental policy has been and will always be mentioning a definite place for the Negro, the chief characteristic of which place is segregation; segregation in civil, political, and economic rights and opportunities. This is none the less so now even though for political reasons the national Democratic party has attempted by an unlimited use of government funds, by parliamentary gentlemen's agreements respecting anti-lynching legislation in Congress, by exploiting the personality and views of the wife of the President, by parading the Democratic party of the North as different from the Democratic party of the South, and by other measures to make the Democratic party masquerade as a real friend of the Negro. Regard the menacing picture presented to the Negroes' welfare by the Democratic party: the bigotry of the South provides the will and determination to exterminate the Negro, New Deal ideas and brains provide the theory and procedure for accomplishing such a program of extinction, and the Farley political machine and the deception of a sham social program provide the drug to make the Negro oblivious to the process while it is going on.

New Deal theorists believe that because of labor saving devices there must always be millions more workers demanding jobs than there are jobs to supply them, that a large segment of the American working population must therefore be permanently retired from gainful occupations. On the basis of what the New Deal has done and what certain of its influential members have said, it appears that the national Democratic party has decided that the colored citizen shall be the one to be retired from further participation in American productive enterprise.

Negroes Segregated

Beginning with the government service: here the Democratic party has refused in the main to appoint Negroes to the permanent civil service positions but rather, adopting a practice created by the Democratic party in the South, has segregated them into emergency colored divisions where it is sought as far as possible to confine colored federal employees to work only among and with Negroes, and continuing through the New Deal emergency agencies such as the ill-starred NRA (where government decree fixed Negro labor as worth less than white labor), the deceased AAA (where the government was the direct means of brutally throwing Negroes off farms and onto relief, perhaps), the FERA (which considered the Negroes' needs in terms of relief allotments worth less in dollars and cents than the white man's needs), the WPA (which as far as possible confines Negroes, even though skilled, to unskilled labor), the National Re-employment Service (which proportionately does next to nothing by way of having Negroes absorbed into private employment), the Social Security Act which excludes from its benefits the two largest groups of colored workers: farmers and domestic servants, the records show the same thing: the use by the Democratic party of the government as a means of giving official sanction and force to the segregating trend of American life and thereby to take the Negro completely out of American productive life and to confine him to an existence on an inadequate relief as a ward of the federal government. The Negro must recognize that his woefully weak position in American life today is because of a woefully weak economic situation, and that an economic situation founded mainly upon government grants and favor, no matter how many emergency agency jobs it may include, is susceptible of being destroyed in a moment of time at the caprice of a prejudiced government. So long as the economic condition of the Negro exists only by grace of the President the Negro can do nothing by way of securing an anti-lynching law, or abolishing discrimination in the civil service or emergency agencies, or of preventing himself from being forced out of gainful employment in American life or of accomplishing any of the things needed to secure his rightful and equal place in American life.

The New Deal menace makes two things vitally necessary to effect the survival of the colored citizens: the effort of the Democratic party to use the Government to remove the Negro from participation in Amercian productive life must be stopped; and the government must be used as far as is lawfully possible to aid the integration of the Negro into gainfully occupied life of America.

G.O.P. Only Instrument

Despite partisan attempt to make the American Negro believe that Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party of the Reconstruction Era are compelling reasons for him to vote Democratic, it is of the utmost importance that the colored American citizen realize that both by history and necessity the Republican party is the only effective instrument which he can use to check the sinister program of the New Deal and to fight his way into an integral part of American productive life. The history and ideals of the Republican party and the areas of America from which it draws its political strength compel it to resist and exclude domination of its policies by Negro-hating southerners. Further, an America in which the Negro is an integral part of its entire economic life is the very essence of the ideals and history

of the Republican party. The Negro loses his only chance for achieving this goal if he fails to direct his main fight to getting cooperation from the Republican party and to making it live up to these ideals and conceptions of its founders.

The record of the Republican party on this vital question of the Negro being an integral part of America's productive life shows that it can be made an instrument of the economic salvation of the Negro. While the Republican party prior to 1932, in accordance with its historic policy of non-interference in and non-competition with private business, made no great attempts to aid the Negroes' participation in America's gainfully employed life, it certainly did not use the government in any way to segregate the Negro out of America's productive life. Furthermore, during this same period, while it did not create a large number of temporary and segregated jobs for Negroes by an unlimited use of government money, what opportunities it did offer the Negro in the government service were non-segregated jobs on the same basis as those filled by white employees.

Beneficial Legislation

In addition, we know that none of the Congressional legislation hostile to the Negro has been placed on the statute books by the Republican party, that all national legislation beneficial to the Negro has been the product of the Republican party, and that all national legislation hostile to the Negro has been the sinister achievement of the Democratic party.

Now, to consider the Republican party and the Negro on the basis of what it will do for the Negro if victorious in the presidential campaign. The major policies of the Republican party relating to relief, recovery, and reform we do not discuss here, believing them far superior to New Deal pretensions since they have a sounder theory, a greater consistency, and will be operated by more experienced, expert and sincere administrators, who will, I believe, be actuated more largely by a genuine desire for national welfare. As regards the Republican party's intentions towards the Negro, in glaring contrast to the Democratic party which has refused either in its platform or through its leader, President Roosevelt, to make any statement of its attitude on Negro rights and opportunities, the Republican party's platform and its candidate pledge fullest aid to the Negroes' struggle to obtain these major objectives.

The platform adopted at the Republican National Convention held in June, 1936, in addition to pledging a continuance of relief for all needy citizens and stating its program for conducting American affairs contains the following plank:

"We favor equal opportunities for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the civil service.

We condemn the present New Deal policies which would regiment and ultimately eliminate the colored citizen from the country's productive life and make him solely a ward of the federal government."

GOVERNOR ALF M. LANDON

Governor Landon, the Republican presidential candidate, has expressly stated his adherence to this pledge in his telegram which was delivered to the meeting of the Republican National Planning Board for Colored Voters, held in Chicago, Illinois, on September 3, 1936, which was as follows:

"Hon. John D. M. Hamilton, Chairman, Republican National Committee, Railway Exchange Bldg., Chicago.

"Extend to the National Planning Board of Colored Republicans my felicitations and earnest regards. Stop. The History of the Republican Party and that of our colored fellow citizens is so interwoven that it is impossible to think of freedom and the remarkable progress of colored Americans without recalling the origin of our party. Stop. Who can forget the labors of the Republican Party for this people in their darkest hour against forces often concealed but nevertheless tireless and industrious the Republican Party keeps the faith with its founders who promised to remain unwearied in the cause of fully established emancipation. Stop. Our Party is not sectional. Stop. Its belief and practices are everywhere the same North and South alike. Stop. It is universal. Stop. I employ neither platitudes nor mottoes. Stop. Our platform of 1936 as it relates to Colored Americans together with the principles of the Republican Party as they were first uttered express my feelings and convictions on all problems that concern them. Stop. No turn of fortune could change my belief in the absolute equality of all American citizens. Stop. Wherever I may be in the future I shall strive as I have thus far striven to adhere to the fundamentals of justice both by word and deed.

Governor Alf M. Landon."

(*Continued on page* 306)

Roosevelt, the Humanitarian

The great humanity of the President is the basis of this article from the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee

THE 'phone in the White House rang. One of President Roosevelt's secretaries picked up the receiver and answered, "Hello!"

A far away voice came over the wire: "Dis is Sylvester, an' I wanna speak to the President".

Mr. Roosevelt, who overheard the distressed voice, took the receiver and said, "This is the President."

"Mr. Roosevelt, I is Sylvester and these white folks down here is gwine take my farm. I hear you wouldn't let them do it if I asked you."

After ascertaining where Sylvester was, the President assured him that he would not let the white folks foreclose on his farm. The President immediately directed his secretary to command the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) in Mississippi, where farmer Sylvester lived, to save his property. It was done.

However, it cannot be said of Franklin D. Roosevelt that his countless humanitarian acts are motivated by selfish reasons.

In 1928, four and one-half years before he went to the White House, although he was running for Governor of New York State that year, he was really devoting most of his time campaigning for Al Smith, who was the Democratic Presidential nominee. Putting personal political success behind his zeal to fight for the man he always supported, Mr. Roosevelt went all over the country stumping for Smith.

The day I first saw him he was to make a speech for Al Smith at the Harvard Union in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Frankly, I don't remember much of what he said; but what impressed me most with him was his pleasing and strong personality. His beaming smile, confident air and the earnestness with which he pleaded for the election of his good friend, left no doubt about the man's sincerity and character.

President Roosevelt convinced me of his determination and ability at his inauguration, when he took the oath of office. He concluded the oath with: "So help me God!" It wasn't these four words that mattered, many people say them almost every day, but it was the spirit in which he said them. The way Roosevelt conducted himself on his inauguration day—the optimistic spirit he showed and the determination he depicted to conquer the depression caused many restless souls to sleep in peace for the first time in many months.

Above Party Politics

In Baltimore not long ago conversing with Dr. Ernest Lyons, Negro Republican leader, and former minister to Liberia, I heard Dr. Lyons say: "We have never had a President like this man. He is a humanitarian; he is above any party politics. If it hadn't been for Roosevelt, this country, and particularly the colored people, would today be worse off than anyone can imagine. Why, the man has done wonders!"

While Dr. Lyons was talking, it seemed as if he were reciting a fact which he dared anybody to dispute. But he is only one of the thousands of colored people who look upon the President as one of the greatest Americans of all time. Well might we so look, because it is through him that our race has received security, jobs and renewed spirit.

When Mr. Roosevelt took office, America was at the crossroads. Our industrial and financial systems had completely collapsed; people were starv-

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

ing in the streets; farmers in the West revolted against the money-changers; an army of ex-service men marched on Washington to demand the bonus. Nowhere in the country was there a feeling of security—everybody was frightened. And worse off of all were 15,000,000 colored Americans.

In the best of times the Negroes received only a few crumbs of the nation's wealth, because of industrial discrimination; but during the depression, even these were denied us.

Fully cognizant of the serious plight of millions of starving Americans, determined to rescue the man in the street from absolute demoralization, President Roosevelt, soon after taking office, performed the greatest humanitarian act any man could do. He fed Americans regardless of race or color.

But feeding them wasn't enough. He knew that all able-bodied men and women were anxious to work, and that it was no fault of theirs that they couldn't. Initiating the greatest public works program any government ever undertook, the President organized the Public Works Administration (PWA). Because this government agency would be naturally slow in putting the unemployed to work, since it could do only long time construction jobs, the President initiated the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Through the WPA, millions of men and women were put to work in gainful and useful occupations overnight! The result of the WPA program is obvious to everyone. Four years ago one only had to walk down any street in America to see the misery, anguish and tragedy written on almost everybody's face. Today, there is a look of contentment in its place. People have bucked up. Confidence has been restored. Men, women and children have gained weight, because they are not hungry any more. And they spend their own money earned in honest, legitimate occupations provided in part by the WPA, and, of course, private industry.

Specific Benefits

What are some of the direct and permanent gains which have accrued to the Negro race through President Roosevelt's New Deal Program? I would list the fact that we have a man in the White House who puts the security and contentment of the man in the street above everything else, whether that man is black or white. Through Roosevelt, colored citizens have finally learned that they are an integral and important part of a dynamic Federal government, who will protect them and their right to live decent lives.

Never before have the colored people all over America felt so close to a President or the government. Roosevelt is spreading true Democracy, which demands that every citizen, regardless of his station in life, must become an integral, interested and active part of the national government. Before Mr. Roosevelt, our Federal government was run by and for the few powerful, rich men and not by or for the people. Now, the people, who are the only real sovereigns, are at the helm of the ship of state and the great humanitarian, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is the fearless pilot.

Listed among the special governmental agencies created by President Roosevelt for American progress are the Housing Division of the PWA, the National Youth Administration, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Emergency Conservation Work (CCC) and many others. Insofar as the colored citizens are concerned, they have profited immeasurably through these agencies.

The Housing Division of the PWA is now constructing housing projects for colored people with small incomes in Atlanta; Memphis; Nashville; Langston, Texas; Indianapolis; Lexington, Kentucky; Detroit; New York City; Washington; Atlantic City; Louisville; Cleveland; and Wayne, Pennsylvania.

Harold F. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and head of the PWA, refused to permit the construction of a Federal low-rental housing project in Baltimore for white people, because no provisions were made by the local officials for a housing project for colored citizens.

Moreover, in order to insure absolute fairness in the employment of labor to construct these houses, the Federal government demands that a certain percentage of all skilled and unskilled laborers employed on the construction work must be colored. If any local contractor fails to live up to this rule, his contract is void immediately.

Because of the educational program sponsored under the NYA, over 300,000 formerly illiterate Negroes throughout the country can now read and write. In addition, thousands of Negro boys and girls have been kept in high school and college, because of the funds the Federal government provides for the education of the nation's youth. In the United States today there are 290,017 high school and college students receiving aid from the National Youth Administration, and at least ten per cent of this number are Negroes.

The Home Owners Loan Corporation has saved thousands of homes and farms owned by Negroes. It has protected the most cherished possession of anybody—his home. Sylvester Harris was only one instance of the humanitarian spirit which has permeated President Roosevelt's administration.

150,000 in CCC

One hundred and fifty thousand colored CCC boys have served in the Civilian Conservation Corps during the past three years. The average gain in weight has been from seven to fifteen pounds for each boy serving a six months period, from regular habits of work, discipline, fresh air and three well-prepared and ample meals a day. The government has spent approximately $30,000,000 in less than three years on colored youths in the CCC camps for food, clothing and education. Also, it has sent about $6,500,000 to the boys' parents who receive $25 per month from the CCC enrollee.

No nation in modern times has benefited by such enlightened leadership as has been shown by Franklin D. Roosevelt. His record speaks for itself. Transcending party, often opposing those who spoke against his humanitarian program, President Roosevelt has rescued 130,000,000 Americans from economic chaos and spiritual discouragement. He has saved our Democracy and built it more firmly for all of the people. Franklin Delano Roosevelt is America's second emancipator.

COMMUNISTS NEXT MONTH

The statement of the Communist party, which was to have been in THE CRISIS this month along with those of the other parties, was delayed by the tour of Earl Browder, the Communist candidate, in the South. Mr. Browder's office advises THE CRISIS that a statement from him and James W. Ford, the vice presidential candidate, will be available for the November issue.

Concert and Lynching in Retrospect

By ELINOR LENNEN

This was not Roland Hayes I heard,
Imploring, "Let my people go;"
It was the plea of Africa
A continent bewailing as one voice.

"Were you there when they crucified my Lord?"
O, Roland Hayes, be merciful!
I *was* there when they crucified Lem Jones.
"Sometimes it causes me to tremble, brother, tremble."

MRS. BETHUNE RETURNS FROM TOUR

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration, has just returned to her office in Washington after a series of good-will tours.

"To Redeem America"—the Union Party

By Thomas W. Myles

THE Union Party has entered the arena to redeem America.

For 40 years the American people of all races, creeds and classes have been deceived and betrayed by both the old parties.

By appeals to class and race prejudice and by direct service to the entrenched interests of plunder, both old parties have worked to disunite the people of America.

The Union Party comes to unite these people.

The Union Party stands four-square behind the constitution of the United States and stands for every part of that basic law of our country.

The Union Party deplores the policy long followed by the old parties of cutting our various races into separate groups. It deplores that because the only result of such policy, and its manifest aim, is to make it easy for the International Bankers, the Industrial Kings and the Princes of Monopoly to govern for their own ends the millions which make up America.

The Union Party has made social security a really live issue in this campaign. It is not content to give lip service to the ideal of making America a land of opportunity for its youth, of making our land one of safety for our families and for our aged loved ones, of so managing the business of our nation as to spread the benefits and the wealth broadly among our people. The Union Party insists on real action to those ends, and real action at once.

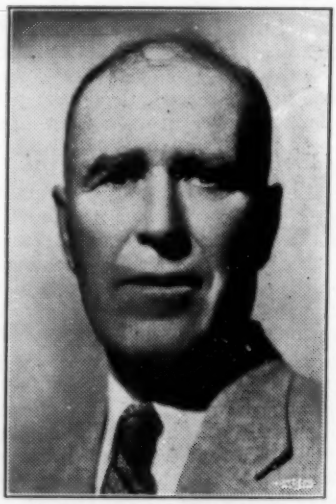
For Constitution

We all know that by creating and forcing a low standard of life upon those Americans who differ in their race from the majority that the powers ruling American wealth decree an ever-lowering standard of life for all our toilers. To raise that standard of well-being for all, our party demands obedience to our constitution, which was created to bestow the boon of liberty and equality upon all in America.

No race can get a square deal in America by favor. Men who pander to race pride, who promise special care for the rights of any group in our land, men who appeal for votes on such a basis, are denounced by the Union Party as the foes of all real Americans.

The Union Party presents a direct, clear-cut, honest program for the good of all our people. It presents its candidates—Lemke and O'Brien—pledged to

The Union Party, with its strength in one or two northwestern wheat states and with support from Father Coughlin and the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, disciple of Huey Long, asks Negroes to rally to it



WILLIAM LEMKE

make that program a living reality.

It is plain to the Union Party that so long as the American voters let the Parties of Plunder deceive them with Sham Battles every four years there is no hope of order, justice or progress for our people. That road keeps us under the yoke of the War Makers, the Profiteers, the Parasites and the Buccaneers who have already reduced our lives to poverty and who will need only four more years to carry out their plans to make the American masses their vassals.

If the American farmer wants to avoid serfdom, if the American toiler wants to avoid slavery, if a racial minority wants to overcome injustice and assure justice for themselves, their only hope today lies in giving power to the Union Party.

The Union Party holds that there is no reason in logic why the external question of the colored voter should remain a factor in the American political scene. There is no difference between the economic needs of our races in America. The big need is for united action to regain political and economic rights for all, —to realize that in America the rights of no race can be flouted without injury to the rights of all races and peoples who make up the American commonwealth.

The Union Party offers a refuge to the downtrodden and exploited men and women of our land. It has a special interest in the oppressed of the colored race only because there are so many of that race who suffer from injustice and discrimination, so many more in proportion to the total number of the group of our citizens it contains.

As the Union Party's great-souled and honest leader, William Lemke, has said: "Those who would thwart the nation's will cannot succeed. The great fundamental power of public opinion will, in time, eliminate them from the scene. This is still a democracy, and an election is at hand. I have confidence in the people. We are going back to the democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln—forward to a happy, prosperous, self-reliant and self-governed people—a people with hopes and aspirations—forward to the true grandeur of this nation.

"I know that Truth is still on the scaffold; Wrong still on the throne. But I know that behind that scaffold and behind that throne an enlightened public opinion is shaping destiny, that in the end decency and right will prevail.

"This nation is on fire. Young and old are aroused. America will be economically free. In this eternal struggle only the coward and slave surrenders; only the dullard accepts the yoke. America's people know that a democratic form of government, though defective, is the best that can be devised for the interest of all. They know that without representation there is no democracy; that without democracy this government will die."

For Equal Justice

Equal justice for all citizens is the base rock on which the Union Party stands. It demands, therefore, no discrimination against any American based on creed or color.

Directly the Union Party attacks the evils of our national civil service. It stands for civil service test methods aimed at finding out only the ability of applicants to do the work in view, and knows that to demand that applicants file photographs with their applications for tests is to open the door to injustice, to close the door of equality among us.

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Schmeling's A Cultural Victory

By George Spandau

This typical Nazi article, full of race "purity" and hatred, appeared in the August, 1936, issue of "Der Weltkampf" in Berlin

MAX SCHMELING defeated the Negro boxer, Joe Louis in New York, that is on American territory. Why is this to be considered a cultural achievement? After all, boxing is one of the crudest sport activities. Why should boxing therefore concern the contented bourgeois and those who have no interest in sports? Why should it concern those who consider sports a mere pastime of the large masses and who have not yet understood that all sports carried on by us today have nothing to do with mere pastime, but contribute to rebuilding our nation to a nation of men, orderly and disciplined, and above all, fully conscious of their national ties?

He who gives it serious thought must change his opinion about it if he wishes to be honest; he will then recognize the real importance of Schmeling's victory, especially if he takes into consideration that Schmeling fought in a fair and honest way and that Joe Louis fought so dishonestly that he had to be warned several times.—It is not only that Schmeling defeated Louis, that German honesty conquered brutality and want of discipline—through the German Schmeling the white race, Europe and white America defeated the black race.

That is of tremendous importance, for the Negro world considered this fight at the very outset a racial struggle. To what extent the Negro world was sure of the victory of its representative can be recognized by the outbursts of rage which followed the defeat of the Negro.

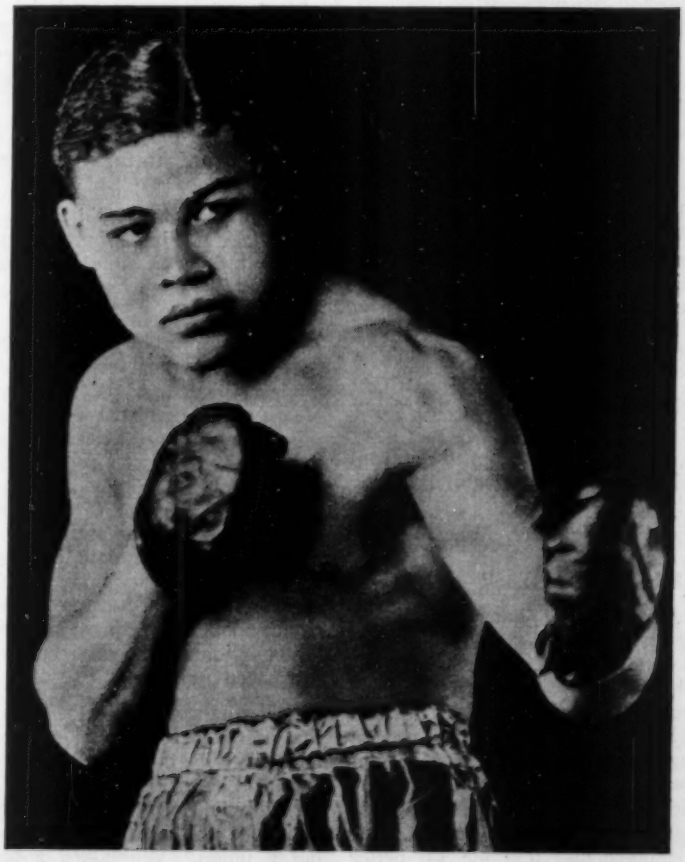
What would have been the result if Louis had won? It is very hard to realize the consequence of the Negro victory. We know (many, however, still do not know it) how much the Negro of North America and Africa resents white domination. Can the Negro be blamed for having lost his respect for the white race and for not fearing it after he recognized in the World War that England and France would never have won without his aid? Can the Negro be blamed for having lost his respect and fear for the white race after France granted him full equality and civil rights and made him a full fledged Frenchman?

The Negro is of a slave nature, but woe unto us if this slave nature is unbridled, for then arrogance and cruelty show themselves in the most bestial way. France and England unbridled the Negro. One more step and arrogance and cruelty would have manifested themselves in a monstrous way. To be sure, Germany would not have had to suffer directly as England, France and white North America. These three countries cannot thank Schmeling enough for this victory for he checked the arrogance of the Negro and clearly demonstrated to them the superiority of white intelligence. He restored the prestige of the white race and in doing so accomplished a cultural achievement. I for one am convinced that Schmeling was fully conscious of this fact and that he fought as a representative of the white race.

The victory of Italy in Abyssinia must be regarded in the same light. Let them pity the Abyssinian people—after the war started there was only one thing left: the fight of a white against a black nation. This has also become a racial fight. The same question must be asked: What would have happened if Abyssinia had won? The same answer applies: The whole black world would have risen up against the white race in arrogance and bestial cruelty. One can imagine the further consequences when one observes the justified rebellion of the Arabs in Palestine against Jewish immigration. Italy, though unintended, has become the protagonist of the white race in Abyssinia.

Now in returning to the beginning of my essay I ask: How can it be achieved that every racial comrade be informed and enlightened with regard to the daily

(*Continued on page* 309)



JOE LOUIS
Represents brutality, says Nazi writer.

Freedom of the Press in Mississippi

By George S. Schuyler

WALKING on eggs without breaking them, treading over snow without leaving tracks or juggling torches in a powder magazine are simple accomplishments compared to editing a newspaper for Negroes in Mississippi. One pauses in silent admiration before the spectacle of these gentlemen pleasing both whites and blacks, turning at the same time to the right and to the left, blowing carefully both hot and cold, touching briefly and casually, if at all, upon the most barefaced robbery and vicious persecution of their brethren, carefully avoiding any exposure of the rogues and rascals within their own group whom the white folks have tagged as "good niggers", and generally avoiding nine-tenths of the real news and practically all of the possible topics crying for comment.

The pathetic eagerness with which some of these editors pounce upon editorials in white newspapers, which by any stretch of the imagination might be construed as expressing sentiments of human justice and fair dealing, and reprint them with added paragraphs of gooey praise, would bring a twisted smile to the lips of the most hardened cynic. Criticizing the views of a white editor or the acts of a public official, even though he may have recently helped to burn to death an innocent Negro, or condoned the act, is simply taboo.

Recently I visited a large town in Mississippi and one of the first men I met was a little shrill-voiced fellow who several years before had been operating a printing business and publishing a weekly newspaper.

"Well", I said, "how is the paper coming along?"

"Oh, the white folks stopped me from publishing a paper", he said, laughing cynically.

"How did it happen? What for?"

"I Didn't Want to Die"

"Well, you see, a gang of crackers shot down a colored boy who simply hadn't done a thing. Everybody was pretty hot about it. So I sat right down and wrote an editorial in which I warned that 'white folks are going to keep on shooting down Negroes until some Negroes start shooting down white people'. We hadn't been on the streets an hour before three or four white men came into the office and told me I'd better stop publishing a paper. I didn't want to die so I stopped".

Mississippi has been called "the worst state in the union" so far as general American standards go. The state has nearly two million in population, but the largest daily paper has only 33,040 circulation. The state pays the smallest amount — $5.45 — per capita for the education of Negro children and only $45.34 per capita for whites as compared to the national average of $99 per capita

One editor asked a friend to write a short article on culture. The friend gladly did so and mailed it off. The next morning his telephone rang and he heard the nervous voice of the publisher.

"I wish you'd make one little change" was the urgent request. "It's that part about wealth not being synonymous with culture and that many people, white and colored, who possess palatial homes, good clothes and fine automobiles are actually savages. I dare not carry anything like that about white people."

"But," the writer objected, "I did not say ALL the white people or even a majority of them. I merely said 'some'."

"Well, I'm sorry. I'd like to publish the article. It's just what I wanted. But we can't carry it unless we leave out that part."

ONE evening in a tiny village in the delta region several tenants and croppers visited me at the home of the Negro school principal. They had each raised ten or more bales of cotton, and the fluffy stuff was selling for more than eleven cents a pound, yet in no case had they received more than forty dollars for the year's work. All of them were upstanding, literate, intelligent and industrious men, good members of the church. They came to seek my advice about organizing a sharecroppers' union or joining the one recently formed in eastern Arkansas.

Being no stranger to the delta I knew that any labor organization there would most likely be considered the first move toward Negro insurrection and treated accordingly, but getting even a measure of justice was out of the question without a union. We talked a long time there in the principal's neat sitting room with the shades carefully drawn. Finally they decided to take my advice to organize secretly and then try to get some Memphis lawyer to represent them.

The next day I was in a nearby little city where a young colored man edits and publishes a small weekly for Negroes, and had on occasion written about social and economic questions in language that his readers could understand. I stopped by his office and told him about my meeting with the sharecroppers and my advice to them.

"They'll probably be murdered or run out of the delta", he said calmly. "I've lived here all my life. I know these white people. They won't stand for any union. They'll kill every Negro before they'll tolerate any such step. You think I'm kidding? Well, take a look at these letters I got recently from one of the most liberal white men in town, a man of wealth and family. Now *he's* a 'good' white man, too, according to all the Negroes in this section".

"You Better go North"

The first letter, a lengthy one, said in part:

> "I have been reading with increasing apprehension your mischievous editorials . . . but I have never been more disgusted than when I read this morning your editorial called "The Sharecroppers' Union".
>
> If you believe the statements in that editorial, you are a greater fool than I thought you: if you do not you are a greater knave. Your idea seems to be that the poor whites and the negroes should band together against the landowners. You ought to have sense enough to know that ninety per cent of the troubles of your race comes from their contact with the poor whites and that the only people who have ever tried to protect you and to see that justice was done you have been the landowners . . . When you say the landlords are part and parcel of the lynching evil, you know you are stating an untruth.
>
> "You say the organization of the poor whites and the negroes together would result in the accruing to the colored people of many civil rights. I wonder what you mean by 'civil rights'? There are a number of people in this part of the delta like myself who have been fighting a life long fight for the rights of the negroes, for

justice, but these rights and this justice have never included the vote or social equality. If you are aiming at procuring either for your people, you at once alienate the only friends you have in the South and you had better go North where your efforts, though equally futile, will possibly be safe. Fortunately your paper is not widely read among the whites. I imagine you know this and figure that you can hand out to your colored readers pernicious clap-trap with immunity. The evil of this is two-fold: You harm your own people by filling them with delusions and misguiding them in their efforts: you endanger them and yourself by not only alienating the negro's white friends, but giving excuse to his numerous white enemies to accomplish injustice.

"If you would realize that the best thing you can do for your people is to attempt to make them self-respecting, truthful and honest in their dealings with each other and the whites, you could be of service in this county and in the South. With any other motive you ought to leave. A similar burden is on the white leaders to induce the whites to deal honestly and justly with the negroes and to encourage in him his own self respect.

"It is evident to me after reading your editorial that I care far more for the welfare of your people than you do and I am writing this for their protection and yours."

This letter undoubtedly is a most accurate reflection of the mind of the "liberal" white South: The poor whites cause all of the trouble, the landlords have nothing to do with lynching and are the Negro's best friends, but he must not aspire to be a voter or to enjoy the full rights of citizenship. My friend, the young editor, drolly commented that the landlords had been singularly inept in protecting the Negroes considering Mississippi's lynching record and the wholesale robbery. "I answered his letter very politely," he said, "and this is the reply I received."

The second letter read: "Apparently you learned nothing from my recent letter and your answer was as near impertinent as you dare make it. Under the circumstances I am not particularly anxious about what happens to you, but I am disturbed about what may happen to others through your mischief-making propensities. My warning is this: The kind of editorials you have written will certainly result in you being run out of town or worse. It is merely a question of time when they come to the attention of those who handle such situations with more direction than judgment.

"You may take this warning or not as you see fit, but, if you do not, you need expect no help in the consequences that may follow."

The young editor has commented on sharecropping unions no more. The tone of his editorials has become much milder. He now devotes his editorial space to innocuous topics or reprints from other papers. He is not a coward but a young man who has no desire to come to a violent end in the loop of a rope or on a pile of flaming faggots.

ON the opposite side of this great Commonwealth of Mississippi, an unusually progressive Negro minister heads a small fraternal association, pastors a large and attractive church which is not in debt, and publishes a four-page weekly widely read in that section. Until recently his editorials frequently came to grips with fundamental questions confronting his people and voiced untrammeled convictions.

Then came 1935. Mississippi was in the throes of a fierce, name-calling, libel-bandying, bullet-exchanging political campaign characteristic of the State. Judging by the boresome radio talks, the windy stump speeches, the factional "literature" and the castigating comments in the white folks' newspapers, the chief issue confronting the voting minority was not unemployment relief, taxation, public works, good roads or better schools, but whether Negroes (who cast less than 500 votes in the State) should sit in the legislature, dominate the State and introduce Ethiopian civilization as, according to The Man Bilbo, they were doing across the line in Louisiana under Huey P. Long.

By mere coincidence our doughty editor chose this time to write a sharp editorial criticizing the superintendent of education for his failure to provide adequate educational facilities for Negro children. He did this as a leader of his people protesting against the unspeakably vicious discrimination against Negro children which everybody in the State knows to exist. Mississippi Negro schools are even worse than those in Georgia, which is admittedly a very broad statement. There is not a single school district in Mississippi with adequate buildings, teaching personnel or teachers' salaries for Negroes, although more than half the children of school age are colored. Over 1400 so-called Negro schools have no buildings at all, the classes being taught in colored churches or tumble down dwellings secured for the term at a rental of a few dollars.

Guard Over Print Shop

This editor's blast infuriated the superintendent's political faction. Several of his henchmen immediately bore down upon the editor's office. They charged him with mixing in politics and insinuated that he was being paid by the opposing faction. Even if true it could have made no difference since his followers could not vote. Finally they left after warning him to change his tone and subject matter or take the consequences. Being white Southerners and therefor unable to join an issue, they had refused to discuss whether or not the editorial was justified.

The editor, having remained suavely polite and replied only in wary monosyllables, heaved a sigh of relief when his visitors stalked out with set faces. A few minutes later he was told over the telephone that his fraternal building containing his print shop would be blown up that night and warned to get out of town and not come back.

Being a man of courage, he hurriedly recruited a score of his close friends to help him guard his property and his life. Armed with shotguns, rifles and pistols, they sat in the lighted building all night with that calm untheatrical fatalism typical of the Aframerican when he has decided to resist at all costs.

News of the vigil spread like a radio broadcast. Throughout the long night several parties of intoxicated white men in automobiles cruised past the place but no efforts were made to molest it. Not a shot was fired. Not a bomb was thrown. Not even a window was smashed. The vigil continued nightly until feeling had died down.

After all, as Bernard Shaw has said, "bravery may sometimes be a form of stupidity." So this editor, I notice, has since pointedly refrained from commenting on the school situation as it affects Negroes. Being a youngish fellow with a fine family, a beautiful home, a nice car and a substantial income, who can blame him for putting on the soft pedal?

While curbed in expressing opinions distasteful to white people, the naïve might suppose that these editors had free critical rein within their racial orbit. Even here, unfortunately, they may exercise freedom of expression only in some instances. A certain school principal, for example, may be an ignoramus, a lickspittle, a seducer of female teachers and pupils, a menace to the Negro community's morals, a fellow who should be dragging a ball and chain on the county farm. But the Negro editor must say little or nothing about him or his acts because this rogue has the approval of prominent white folk. In characteristic Southern fashion they

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The Study of the Negro

By George Longe

THE favorable attitude toward courses in Negro history and Negro literature is of recent development. There have been and are now some difficulties to be encountered in establishing these courses in the public high schools of the South. Some of these difficulties are: crowded curricula offerings in the public high school, overworked teaching staff (heavy schedules and increasing teaching loads), and the difficulty of getting a suitable Negro history textbook. However, the work of teaching Negro history in the Negro public high schools of the South has gone on because of the resourcefulness, zeal and initiative of Negro educators and teachers.

In a recent survey of 174 Negro public high schools in 21 states and the District of Columbia it was found that 50 of these schools were offering courses in Negro history, that most of the courses were established since 1927 and that all of the courses carried full credit.

The survey also showed that these courses were very popular in the densely populated Negro sections of the South. Because of the high degree of race consciousness found in the above mentioned sections, and the separate school system, the South led all sections of the country in the matter of teaching Negro history.

Most of the schools offered the courses for half year with classes meeting five times a week. Woodson's "The Negro in Our History," and Brawley's "A Short History of the American Negro," were the textbooks in use. Students after having had these courses showed much interest in Negro problems, had more race pride and self-respect, acquired different points of view of certain periods in American history and showed a pronounced cooperative attitude toward National Negro Health Week, Rosenwald Day, Interracial Sunday and Negro History Week.

In the teaching of Negro literature, as shown by the survey, very little progress had been made in the public high schools. Six Negro high schools out of 174 were offering courses in Negro literature. In all probability it will be a long while before the teaching of Negro literature will become a part of the curriculum in Negro public high schools.

In the Negro colleges the picture is almost complete. The survey reports that 46 of the 48 Negro colleges surveyed were offering courses in Negro history, 29 courses in Negro literature

Courses in Negro History are being taught in colored and white schools in the South and bid fair to have a good effect on future race relations

and 29 courses in race relations.

Courses in White Colleges

In the white colleges a great interest is being shown by certain white teachers who are taking advantage of the opportunities that some courses offer to acquaint their students with facts about Negro life and history. A government survey made in 1932 reported 95 white colleges of 580 surveyed were offering courses in race relations to their students. These courses were listed as Race Relations, Negro Problems, The American Negro, Immigration and the Negro, Race and Culture, and Problems of Race and Nationality. The coming generations of white Americans should have an enlightened attitude on race questions as a result of these courses.

In many of the advanced colleges and universities several liberal white professors are interested in research in race relations; Dr. Franz Boas and Dr. Melville J. Herskovitz in physical anthropology and Dr. Howard Odum and Dr. Johnson in Negro music and folk-lore are among those who have done much toward the movement for the study of the Negro in white colleges and universities.

During 1934, 113 theses and dissertations on and about the Negro were accepted by graduate departments in 35 colleges and universities in 21 states and the District of Columbia.

Other agencies are at work fostering the study of the Negro. Some of these are: Department of Negro History at Xavier university; Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee; Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and various forums, study groups, clubs, interracial conferences, seminars and public lecture courses.

Because of continuous petitioning on the part of the Federation of Civic Leagues under the leadership of Dr. J. A. Hardin, the Orleans Parish school board through its department of superintendence appointed the writer as chairman of a committee of principals and teachers to write a syllabus for the teaching of Negro history from the first through the eleventh grades, in the colored public schools. The committee set about this most gratifying task and today the work is complete and it is the hope of the committee that each teacher will be provided with a syllabus and that the teaching of Negro history in all of the grades to all of the colored boys and girls will become a reality.

The development of the syllabus in the first four grades was assigned to Miss Pearl Tasker, primary supervisor in the colored public schools, and the work from the fifth through the eleventh grades was under the supervision of the writer.

Grade meetings were called, instructions and assignments were given, and all teachers were encouraged to send in contributions. Central committees were formed and all principals of the colored schools were asked to act as advisers at assigned grade levels. The central committees were to collect and classify all material handed in, the advisers were to criticize that material and offer suggestions for improvements.

Stimulates Race Pride

The general aims of the work for the first four grades are: to develop appreciation for Negro literature, to portray the beautiful in the Negro race, and to establish an aesthetic basis for future study. Suggestions are given teachers. The poems are classified as poems of nature, of holiday, romance, of Arbor Day, of patriotism and miscellaneous. Stories about great Negroes are written by the teachers. All of these are graded for the teacher and many suggested activities are given. The music is arranged by grades and consists of songs to be taught (spirituals and secular), and vocal and instrumental recordings are listed for appreciation which offer suggestions for presenting the Negro spirituals.

In the upper grades, from the fifth through the eleventh, each grade has as its aims, outline of subject matter with indication as to when this subject matter should be taught, suggested activities, a bibliography with page references, and lesson plans and units showing the teacher how to correlate the facts of Negro life and history with the regular classroom work in history. Our method is to teach the Negro in history. The

(*Continued on page* 309)

Editorials

Unfit Judge

ALTHOUGH a good fight was made against Judge B. C. Atlee of Lancaster, Pa. for his remarks openly endorsing lynching, he was not impeached, as he should have been, by the Pennsylvania state legislature. All the ramifications of the hearings and the committee reports and the legislative juggling are not clear, but somewhere near the end, when it seemed certain Judge Atlee would be cited to stand trial for impeachment, he was allowed to make a public apology and let off with a censure.

Judge Atlee struck the greatest blow at law and order and in support of lynching by mobs since the remark of the late Governor James Rolph, Jr. of California. After the San Jose lynching of two white men in October, 1933, Governor Rolph said:

"If any lyncher is arrested for this crime I will pardon him at once."

When Judge Atlee had a colored man before him for sentence on July 10, 1936, after a conviction of attempting to molest two white girls, he told the prisoner:

"Had they lynched you they would have been justified."

It is interesting to note that the leading southern newspapers in Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana, vigorously condemned Atlee's statement and called for his impeachment. Incitement to lynching by judges and governors sworn to uphold and administer law is a crime too serious to escape with an apology and a censure. Judge Atlee is far more dangerous than the moronic leaders of lynching mobs. He is unfit for the bench of Pennsylvania or any other state.

Beware Coughlin

THE N.A.A.C.P. and THE CRISIS, for obvious reasons, have not been active in *partisan* politics. Members of the N.A.A.C.P. are of all shades of political opinion and they rightly expect that their association will address itself to *racial* difficulties. Inevitably these latter involve politics, but the N.A.A.C.P. tries always (sometimes without success) to keep itself clear of strictly party politics while having to mix in politics generally in behalf of colored people.

This general statement justifies a pronouncement about Father Coughlin, the radio priest, and his National Union for Social Justice. If all Father Coughlin's radio addresses and printed pamphlets be examined, THE CRISIS ventures the assertion that nowhere will be found a statement on the rights of colored Americans, or any recognition of the injustices suffered by them. Glaringly absent is any comment on lynching. These omissions are enough to condemn any leader of any movement for "social justice." How can any man—especially a priest—shout of social justice and be indifferent to the fact that in this country of ours men and women, white and black, are hung and burned at the stake by mobs?

But Father Coughlin has given additional evidence, if any were needed, to colored people that he is a leader of the most dangerous type. His statements this summer against Jews as a race—the unrestrained viciousness of his language in announcing a program of race hatred—brand him as something Negroes should avoid as they would the plague.

It follows that any movement or candidate for office supported by Father Coughlin should be opposed by colored voters. No man who is a candidate for any office, from President to dog catcher, who accepts endorsement from Coughlin should receive a single Negro vote. Coughlin waves the red flag of race hatred and has given no sign that he is even aware of the terrible injustice suffered by twelve million American Negro citizens. Beware Coughlin and anyone he supports.

Frightened Republicans

THERE is a great to-do over the Negro vote in the November election. A veritable parade of political writers has sounded a tocsin of alarm over the inclination of many Negroes to accept the overtures of Democratic party workers. Poor old Mark Sullivan, recognized as a strictly Republican writing man, professes to see "dynamite" in the courting of the Negro vote by the Democrats. He never saw anything—not even cause for simple gratitude—in the decades of loyal support given the Republicans by these same Negroes. Paul Ward in *The Nation* and Dorothy Thompson in the New York *Herald-Tribune* see the Negro vote as "bought;" while Frank R. Kent, veteran political observer for the Baltimore Sun papers envisions "trouble" in the efforts of the New Dealers to secure the Negro vote.

Sullivan can be dismissed as a dyed-in-the-wool party writer. With him it is all right for Republicans to buy, hoodwink, woo, charm or otherwise get the Negro vote; but when the Democrats hand the black man a little patronage in exchange for votes, that becomes "social dynamite."

Paul Ward and Dorothy Thompson ought to know enough about machine politics to keep them from any rash statements on the susceptibility to purchase of the Negro vote. Anyone familiar with typical American machine politics knows that the Negro vote is no more purchasable than that of any other racial group. One of the chief faults of the Negro voter thus far is that he has often given his vote for such a measly return as to earn the scorn of the recipients.

The truth of the whole matter is, of course, that the Negro is just beginning to understand the inner political maneuverings. He is discarding the whipped cream which has been handed him for so long and is getting down to more solid things. In general he wants the same rewards and concessions which any other American citizen wants. He is tired of seeing other people get concrete returns for their political support while all he receives is wordy assurance of "justice" and "love".

Come now the "viewers-with-alarm" who are greatly disturbed because the Democrats do not seem to play the game as it has been played for lo, these many years. THE CRISIS is amused, but not disturbed. For years this magazine and the N.A.A.C.P. have been urging colored voters to become independent, to divide their vote, to shake loose from the position where one political party could and did boast that it had the Negro vote "in its vest pocket." Conditions are not ideal. Both the major parties have numerous shortcomings, not only so far as the Negro is concerned, but so far as the basic welfare of the bulk of the whole population is concerned. But for those colored people who feel they must make a choice between the two great parties, THE CRISIS suggests that they consider the moanings of Mark Sullivan and Company in their true light: real disturbance among the Republicans over the emergence of the Negro voter into an era where Lincoln, flag-waving and mammy stories have lost their power to charm votes into ballot boxes.

No Bogey Man

THAT the Negro is no longer the bogey man he once was in Dixie politics is indicated by the 2 to 1 defeat of the Negro-hating, chain-gang governor, Eugene Talmadge of Georgia.

Union Party

(*Continued from page* 300)

As a congressman, the candidate of the Union Party for President was one of those who demanded, on the floor at Washington, that the anti-lynching bill be brought to a vote. Not only because he was in revolt against lynchers, but because the vote is the democratic method of governing.

The Union Party demands a better America for all, and means that demand. It warns America that chaos is ahead unless the old parties of plunder and privilege are dethroned—and now. American democracy faces the task of self-salvation, with national disaster and Fascism the only alternative. Away with the betrayers. Take truth from the scaffold and put it on the throne by voting for the program and candidates of the Union Party in 1936.

William Lemke, Union Party candidate for President, is a native of Albany, Minnesota, where he was born in a log cabin on August 13, 1878. His parents were Frederick and Julia Lemke. At the age of three, in 1881, his parents moved to Grand Forks, North Dakota, where they engaged temporarily in the hotel business.

In the spring of 1882 his parents moved to Crystal, North Dakota and all the family possessions were carried in two covered wagons drawn by oxen. It was at Crystal where his parents preempted a quarter section of government land. This farm was sold later for $1,500.

The Lemke family again journeyed in their covered wagons to Towner county, near Cando, where Mr. Lemke's father filed on a homestead and on a free claim. William Lemke attended the public school in Cando, North Dakota, averaging about three months of schooling per year. After the public school, Mr. Lemke attended Cando high school for one year.

In 1895 he entered the preparatory school of the University of North Dakota and in 1898 he entered the university, graduating in 1902 with a B.A. degree.

During these university days, Mr. Lemke decided to devote his life to the profession of law and studied this subject for one year. He then spent one year at the Georgetown university law school, Washington, D. C., and finished his studies at Yale university, graduating in 1905, with an LL.B. degree. After graduation Mr. Lemke "hung out his shingle" in Fargo, North Dakota.

Because of his farm background, Mr. Lemke became vitally interested in all activities and legislation designed to improve the lot of the farmers in his state. He has been connected with practically every farm organization in the Northwest as an attorney or as an active member, including the Farmer's Union, Farm Holiday, and the Cooperative Exchange (which was the forerunner of the Farmer's Union). He was elected to the seventy-third and seventy-fourth Congresses as representative-at-large from North Dakota.

Mr. Lemke was a member of the executive committee of the National Non-partisan League, 1917-21; chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, 1916-20 and in 1919 had charge of drafting the laws that established the industrial program of North Dakota. These were the most liberal labor laws ever written up to that time. He was elected attorney general of North Dakota in 1921. He helped organize the Bank of North Dakota and drafted the Industrial Commission act. This act is today studied in many colleges as a model of progressive legislation. Mr. Lemke sponsored the first Soldiers' Compensation in the United States wherein the state of North Dakota gave every soldier $25 per month additional compensation.

Mr. Lemke gained national recognition during the fierce fight over the Frazier-Lemke bill. The objective of this bill was the refinancing of farm mortgages and other obligations on a basis of 1½ per cent annual payment on principal and 1½ per cent interest on the amortization plan. Each year this bill gained more and more supporters.

Mississippi

(*Continued from page* 303)

would construe any criticism of him as criticism of them, which is always unhealthy.

The State is infested with ecclesiastical rascals often guilty of every crime in the calendar. Some of them control chains of several country churches usually mortgaged and dilapidated but excellent stations from which to launch dime-grabbing campaigns that keep the black rustics broke and thus helpless in the tentacles of cotton tenancy. These bush priests are often of the type around whom no female over four is safe and their principal avocation is loafing around the countryside, creating cuckolds and bolting the peasants' choicest chickens.

It is decidedly impolitic for any Negro editor to attack these rogues because they are usually approved by some leading white man as "safe and sane" fellows guaranteed to keep the Negro's mind off economic and social questions the discussion of which might disturb the status quo. With the backing of authority and their mastery of animal emotionalism, these Cotton Belt Casanovas maintain an uncanny hold on the yokel mind. The black masses will often boycott an outspoken Negro newspaper on their order.

It is not strange, then, that in a profession where the proportion of cynics is uncommonly high, the Mississippi Negro editor is perhaps the most cynical of all. It is safer to use one's columns to merely chronicle church doings, social affairs and fraternal confabulations and to speak editorially only in praise. It is also more profitable. The uninformed and unsympathetic may feelingly denounce the docility of the Mississippi Negro, his failure to organize against seemingly unbearable conditions and, above all, his apparent lack of militant leadership. But the reason for his state is no longer obscure when his logical spokesmen, the editors, are perforce mum.

Landon

(*Continued from page* 297)

Thus the Party and its candidate pledge themselves not only to aid the fight of the Negro for his political and civil rights, which have been the subject of struggle since the Civil war, but also they pledge themselves to aid his fight to resist this modern and New Deal menace of removal from American productive life and to accomplish a new and vitally needed goal, of aiding the integration of the colored citizen into the gainfully occupied life of our country.

Today, of all times, the colored American must direct his course in accordance with realities, in accordance with the things which count most, which means most of all in conformity to the economic interpretation of history and human affairs. It would be most unfortunate if blinded by partisanship the Negro aided his implacable foes in reducing him again to a state of servitude and hopelessness. It is, therefore, hoped that colored Americans, regardless of party, will recognize that this year of 1936 has conditions making it imperative that all Negroes consider the Republican party as the best instrument which they can use for their own substantial and permanent betterment and express that as their choice at election time.

HOLSEY TO AAA JOB

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has announced that Albon L. Holsey, of Tuskegee Institute, has been appointed an AAA field officer to assist with the 1936 Agricultural Conservation Program and to aid in the development of a program for 1937.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Mussolini in America

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*

NOW that Benito Mussolini has won three-quarters of Ethiopia with the aid of poison gas and has launched a campaign to make it a white man's country, he is turning his attention to making 100 per cent Fascists out of the Italians living in North and South America who number in excess of 6,500,000.

The current Italian Foreign Ministry budget shows that some 60,000,000 lire ($5,346,000) is to be spent this year to bring these Italians and the 3,500,000 living elsewhere in the world, into the fold of Fascism.

In other words, Italians living here and enjoying practically the same rights as citizens, are to be impregnated with the vicious Fascist doctrines of war and white supremacy, of the subjugation of women and the glorification of brutishness.

Every American city with Italian residents is to have its Fascist organization if there is none already.

Dozens of Italian language newspapers have been bought up by Mussolini to spread daily and weekly poison among their readers and unify them into a solid phalanx behind the Fascist emblem.

The Italian Community Mutual Associations in many American cities are already under the thumb of Mussolini and must have their officers okehed by Rome where once they were freely elected.

The Dante Aligheri schools in America, once controlled by Italo-Americans, are now taking orders from Mussolini and their instructors must wear the same Black Shirt that the oppressors of Ethiopians wear.

This summer thousands of Italo-American youths got free trips to Italy at the expense of Mussolini.

Is this any of our business? Is this the concern of 13,000,000 colored Americans?

It most certainly ought to be because there are nearly 5,000,000 Americans of Italian extraction in the United States, most of whom read Italian newspapers and belong to Italian organizations. Of this number, 1,790,429 are not citizens, but their influence in spreading vicious Fascist propaganda is great because they associate with and circulate among white citizens. Millions vote and some high officials of Italian descent are open supporters of Mussolini's murder tactics.

Edoardo Zavatarri, one of Mussolini's spokesmen, has stated the Fascist attitude toward colored people so accurately that we can do no better than to quote from one of his pronouncements:

"The relations between white and colored peoples is exclusively one of domination. The white directs and the black obeys. The white makes himself served and the black serves him. Our conception is clearly anti-democratic and anti-socialistic. We must oppose all utopias and all fraternity and equality which permit in certain of our colonies an intolerable mixture of Europeans and colored people. Only by an absolute differentiation between dominators and subjects can a colonial territory be solidly governed. There must be absolute domination of the white over the black; and an indestructible separation of principles, habits, work, methods between master and subject."

These are the views to which Mussolini is striving to have every Italian, at home and abroad, adhere.

There is nothing we can do about Fascism in Italy, but there is a great deal we can do about Fascism in America.

We can vote against it and all candidates who endorse it. We can fight for the return of these alien propagandists to their native lands. And we can stop spending our money with those who support this Negrophobis viewpoint.

To do less would be cowardly negligence.

The ouster of a federal inspector at Boulder Dam and the warning from Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, that discourtesy and discrimination will not be tolerated are welcome signs coming from the national administration. Mr. Ickes' action followed a protest by William Pickens that he was arrested for insisting that he and his party ride an elevator at the dam with white visitors.

Mr. Pickens was released, and the officials there attempted to hold that he was not in actual custody. They also claimed that he created a disturbance. When he took his protest to Mr. Ickes, that official was not satisfied to mutter apologies and let it go at that.

Insistence upon equal treatment for all citizens will go a long way toward creating respect for cabinet officers and the government they represent.—New York *Amsterdam News.*

The workers who produce cotton and coal have made the most progress toward accord across the color line. It is a singular coincidence that these two products are the ones here in America whose importance is most threatened.

Maybe it is more than coincidence. It is possible that the workers in them, realizing that they face a bitter fight for existence are working together as the best means to the end desired. Cotton is declining in importance because of the foreign crop. Added to that blow to cotton labor is the mechanical cotton picker which will make the picturesque fall activities of the South only a memory. It is little wonder that in this strait the white tenants of southern farms are making common cause with the Negroes.

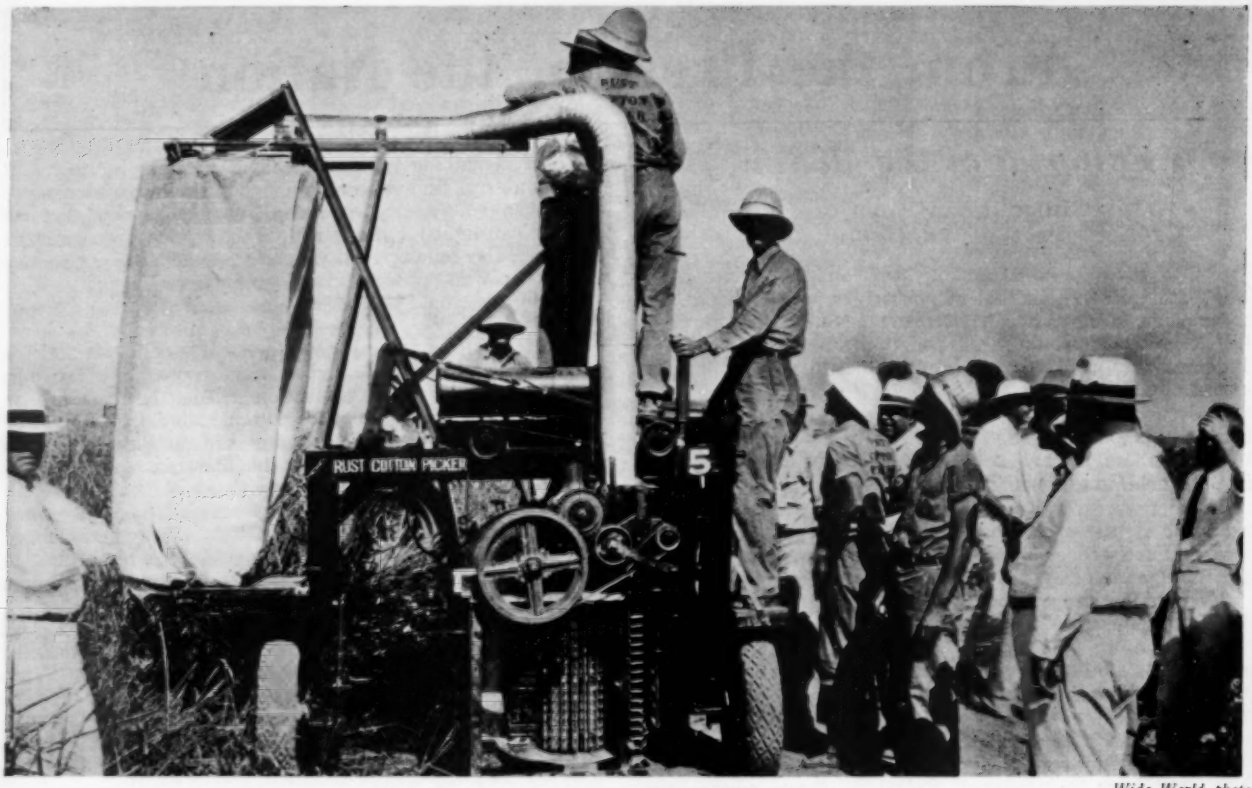
Coal is still a key article of commerce. But it is no longer a monopolist. It is challenged by electrical power and by oil. Again the same reason why President John Lewis' Mine Workers union should rally every available man, black as well as white. . . .—*The Call,* Kansas City, Mo.

The race question is fading out as a potent political issue. The most recent test occurred in South Carolina, where Senator Byrnes was opposed in the primaries by former Mayor Thomas P. Stoney, of Charleston, and Colonel William C. Harlee, a retired officer of the Marine Corps.

As campaign issues both Messrs. Stoney and Harlee opposed the New Deal, but their chief dependence was upon the race question as raised by certain benefits supposed to accrue to colored people under the relief and recovery program. They made much also of the interest of the Roosevelts—especially the First Lady—in colored people's welfare. . . .

Senator Byrnes made his campaign for renomination along dignified lines, ignoring the race question. He received a vote seven times as large as the combined vote of his opponents. . . . —Norfolk *Journal and Guide.*

We were pleased to note that a large number of voters were added to the registration books of the city during the recent city-wide registration. To register and vote is the proper exercise of the highest privilege of a citizen in any democracy.—St. Louis *Argus.*



The Rust Cotton Picker being demonstrated on a Mississippi plantation August 31 *Wide World photo*

Picking Cotton by Machinery

By Grace Towns Hamilton

TODAY in the cotton raising states of this country, eight million men, women, and children, black and white, are concerned with picking this year's cotton crop. These people work "in the last great field of hand labor, and the greatest single source of child and woman labor in America." They labor largely unaware of a product of inventive genius which is destined to change their lives and that of their children.

The Rust Mechanical Cotton Picker, a simply operated, tractor drawn, rubber-tired machine, is the missing link that makes possible the complete mechanization of the cotton growing industry. It consists primarily of an endless belt carrying several hundred smooth rotating wire spindles. The spindles are automatically moistened, and as they pass over the cotton rows, they enter the plants. The moisture causes the open cotton to adhere to the rotating spindles and to be pulled from the burrs as it wraps around the spindles. After this the cotton is stripped from the spindles and is delivered by a suction fan to a huge container, fluffed, free of hulls, ready for ginning. Due to its structure the machine may be passed over rows as often as necessary without injuring the stalks or green bolls. Since the machine does not gather immatured or faulty bolls, it acts also as a grader.

The machine picks matured cotton at the rate of about an acre an hour. It does the work of from fifty to one hundred hand pickers. When tractor lights are on, it works as well by night as by day. The overall operation cost is estimated at 98c per hour.

Toward what now, may these millions at work in the cotton country, look forward? Though the ultimate results of technological advance is the good of society, the immediate effects of such advance, in our present social system, tend to increase insecurity. When the cotton-picking machines begin to move into the cotton country, they will steadily crowd the sharecroppers and the other hand pickers off the cotton lands, into the ranks of the unemployed, upon the relief rolls of urban as well as rural districts. That the Negro cotton worker will be the first to feel the effects of the new machine may be fully expected.

The inventors of the machine, John and Mack Rust, who have themselves worked long days as cotton pickers, are especially remarkable because of their social philosophy. They express their concern for the workers in cotton farming as follows:

> "It stands to reason that the cotton-picker has immense possibilities as a source of revenue. It is our idea that as much as possible of this revenue should be used on the one hand for rehabilitating the disemployed and on the other hand for carrying on educational activities with a view to ending unemployment and poverty once and for all.
>
> "We will encourage the establishment of cooperative enterprises and such other organizations as tend to

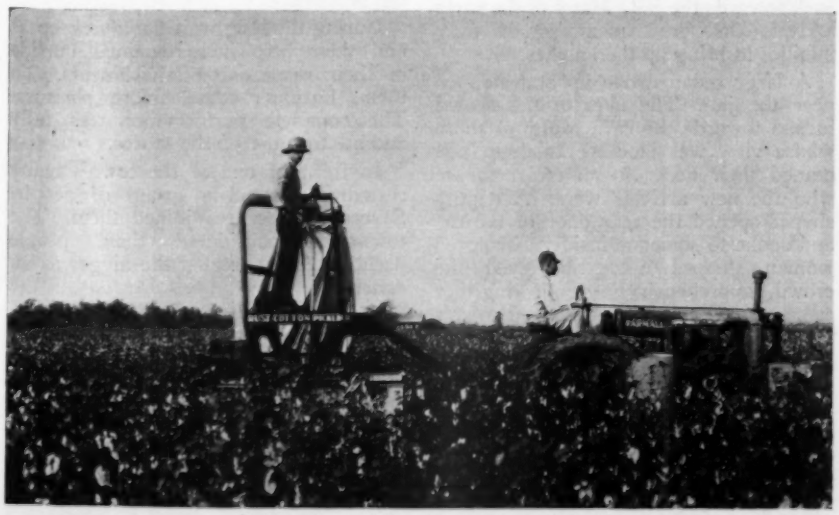
raise the economic and social status of the people as a whole. We are considering the idea of leasing our machine only to those who will establish a system of fair wages and working conditions for their employees.

"As much as we are concerned with the welfare of the people who will be disemployed by the introduction of the cotton-picker, it is obvious that we will not be able to rehabilitate all of them from our share of the profits from the cotton-picker enterprise. We believe there should be a job for every able bodied person who applies for work and that there should be universal insurance for the disabled and the aged. But these are social problems which must be dealt with as such by society as a whole.

"We believe that the final solution of these problems will come with the introduction of a planned economy of abundance, based on production for use, wherein at least our credit and basic industries are socialized. It is likely that even under a planned economy a difference in compensation according to the service rendered may long be required to induce everyone to do his best, but the spread in income should be limited. The maximum pay should be perhaps, not more than ten times the minimum, but regardless of the spread in income, our total buying power ought to equal the goods for sale.

"It seems to us that some sort of cooperative commonwealth is bound to supplant our decaying capitalistic society, and it is our wish that this transition take place with as little confusion and violence as possible. To this end we will cooperate with all progressive forces looking toward a new and better society, where new inventions will no longer take the working man's job but will shorten his hours of toil. In our country we already have the means for producing more than enough for all. We Americans have proved ourselves good mechanical engineers. Now let us turn our hands to social engineering that will give to every man, woman and child a chance to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Rust Foundation will be established with a view to helping carry out the foregoing ideas. It will be a non-profit educational institution and will be endowed with the patents on the Rust Cotton-picker."

The present plan of the inventors of the cotton-picker is to control its use by leasing for period of one year, rather than selling it. They expect to include clauses in the contracts which will insure a minimum hourly wage to all workers on the farms where the picker is used. It now becomes even more essential that Negro workers become increasingly identified with organizations like the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in which Negro and white agricultural workers are united. The long established economic practices of the cotton country designed "To keep the Negro in his place," will surely find expression in an unwillingness to pay any worker, white or black, even the low minimum of 30c an hour. Uniting for the protection of their common economic welfare is preparation for other cooperative enterprises. These millions of Negro and white workers picking cotton by hand today, cannot solve the riddle of the cotton industry alone, no matter what their course of action. They must be helped by agencies of the federal government. They must realize however, in the face of the vast changes destined to come because of a new machine in the land, that they can best help themselves and gain their mutual protection, by finding common cause.



Another view of the cotton picker at work

Schmeling

(*Continued from page* 301)

events in such way as to recognize and value them in their full significance? Newspapers and radio can do it only up to a certain extent. Much more convincing, however, is the spoken word readily interpreted by people who have the opportunity of answering questions and removing doubts.

Trusted men possessing a high and comprehensive Weltanschauung and deep insight should be such interpreters. They should interpret the most important daily events in their connections, in their causes and effects among large groups. In half an hour much more could be achieved in this way than by lengthy essays which are addressed to the general public. The audience would go home with the satisfaction and feeling that they have really become more intelligent and sensible and they would see to it that these interpretations be spread among their acquaintances.

But when are such interpretations to be given?—If possible not at evening for the rights of the family to family life must not be curbed even more than they are at present. Such interpretations should take place during the day at such places where people flock to in groups. I think, for example, of inns where this half hour should be interpolated, of offices, of schools, etc. The pause for breakfast serves the physical welfare; this pause of half an hour, however, serves the spiritual, the ideal welfare. And this is even a thousand times more important than the former.

Negro History

(*Continued from page* 304)

general chairman feels confident that the colored boys and girls in the public schools after having been taught these facts concerning Negro life and history will develop a sense of loyalty, and patriotism, and dependability in the Negro of today; greater race pride and self respect. They will be inspired to greater accomplishments, and the course will assist in bringing about a better racial adjustment.

Awarded Ph.D.

Lloyd E. Alexander of the faculty of Fisk University was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Rochester at the June commencement for his work in biology. Dr. Alexander holds the degrees of B.A. and M.A. from the University of Michigan. He is a member of Phi Sigma, honorary biological society and of Sigma Xi, scientific society. He is assistant professor of biology at Fisk.

Southern Justice

By Joseph Miller

Describing the way many places in "dear old Dixie" handle the scales of justice

FOR days the good people of Woodsville and surrounding country had been patiently awaiting the day when Sam Brown would be taken for his final walk; a stroll destined to begin in a cell on the second floor of the three story county jail and end on the top floor where he would be led to the scaffold, a noose placed around his neck, the trap sprung, and his body left dangling in mid-air until he had taken his last breath.

Woodsville, at one time, had been a prosperous Southern lumber town and county seat. When the lumber interests had completed the devastation of the virgin pine forests, they had left for newer and more fertile fields. It was in this atmosphere that Sam Brown had been born and reared. Being colored, he had been deprived even of the few liberties accorded to the poor whites. While the lumber companies were in the section, Brown had assisted in bringing down and transporting the trees to the sawmill. Since the transfer of operations, he had managed to eke out a living by doing odd jobs around town.

A white man was reported missing from his home. After several days' search his body had been found, clumsily buried, in a thicket. The hunt for the killer led to the home of Sam Brown. After being grilled by the sheriff he had confessed to the crime and included a statement that several white men had paid him to do the job.

The trial was short. The jury brought in the verdict—"Guilty." The judge with feigned solemnity issued the sentence. "To hang by the neck until dead." The white men had not been brought to trial. Appeals from the decision proved of no avail as the higher courts answered, "He committed a crime; let him pay."

The fateful day arrived. The town took on a festive air as the farmers and residents, dressed in their Sunday best, took the day off to attend the hanging. The fact that they would not be permitted to witness the execution bothered them little. Hearing the trap sprung was good enough. Sam Brown's last walk was scheduled for noon. By the time the hour arrived the lawn between the Court House and the fenced-in jail was jammed with people. Many of them had arrived early in the morning in order to select advantageous positions. They had come in automobiles, on horseback, by horse and buggy, on bicycle, and on foot.

The secretary of the town council sat in his office and conversed with a number of friends and visitors. Glancing through the window he noticed a colored man passing along the walk. Hailing him, he bade him enter the office. The Negro shambled in and remained standing. There were empty chairs around but he knew better than to sit down without express permission.

"How'd y'all like to make fifty dollars?" the secretary asked. "Al y'all have to do is to hang that nigger."

"Ah'd like to make dat money, but ah don' wan' to hang that niggah." His body quivered involuntarily as he spoke.

"There's nothing to be afraid of," remarked the now grinning official.

The man stared at the floor for a time before he answered hesitantly, "If ah hung that niggah, ah'd use dat money to get drunk and stay drunk."

"If y'all want that job just say so and I'll fix it."

"No suh, ah don' wan' that niggah's ghost followin' me aroun'."

When the city official tired of the sport of tormenting the Negro, he permitted him to leave the room. The colored man left hurriedly and seemingly much relieved.

AS the court house clock rang out its melancholy note of noon, the people who had gone shopping turned back towards the jail. Many of the early arrivals had sent members of their families to bring up the lunches.

A large sedan drove up and stopped near the jail. The eyes of the crowd turned towards the car. Many of those whose view was blocked stood up and craned their necks in an effort to see who the new arrivals were. A deputy sheriff opened the rear door of the car and spoke to someone inside. A colored woman stepped out. She eyed the crowd, apprehensively. Following her came several children. "That's Brown's family," someone called out. Silence reigned as the procession passed through the enclosure and entered the jail. "She'll have to get a new boy friend, now," one person piped up. Many of those hearing the comment smiled and passed the crack along. Another person stated quietly, "It's a shame bringing his family when he is going to die." All he got in reply was some dirty looks.

The seconds ticked on and the scheduled hour of noon became part of the past. Silence reigned supreme. No sound was forthcoming from the interior of the jail. Speculation was rife as to what was causing the delay. Part of the crowd began to pace around and asking each other, "Wonder why they don't get it over with?"

The local correspondent for a big city paper stood near the rear of the crowd. He had received orders to view the hanging and send the story through for the evening editions. Shivering, in spite of the heat, he remarked to some of his friends, "I've got the assignment to witness the execution, but I can't go through with it. I'll have to see the sheriff and get the story from him." His companions remained silent.

It was well after the noon hour when the crash sounded. "Looks like it's all over," several spoke up. Part of the crowd gathered up their belongings and prepared to leave. Again the trap crashed. Those departing came to an abrupt stop, turned around and looked towards the jail. "Sounds like they're testing the trap," an old timer spoke up. The crowd resumed their places and waited. A few continued to pace around and glance curiously at the jail.

The number pacing around increased as the minutes passed slowly along. Then out of the quiet walls of the jail sounded the "crash" of the trap. It was the one that spelled finish to Sam Brown's life. The assembly slowly left the grounds.

During the long wait the storekeepers and their help had remained outside of their respective establishments. To them, business came before pleasure. The complete performance was fully audible to most of the stores.

In front of one of the town's many restaurants stood a group of people. Several northerners joined them. The townsmen considered these people peculiar. They treated the nigger as an equal.

The restaurant proprietor, with an air of arrogance, turned to the group and stated with measured deliberateness, "Here in the South, when a nigger kills a white man—it's murder." He paused to catch the audience's reaction. "But, when a white man kills a nigger—it's an accident." Several of the bystanders assented to the cafe owner's comment on Southern Justice.

"Caribbeanward"

By Herman P. Osborne

Another opportunity for a Negro business enterprise is outlined here

APPROXIMATELY one hundred and eighty-five miles from the southernmost tip of Florida, lies the island of Jamaica, the largest member of the British West Indian Islands, with a population of over a million; and about the size of the state of Connecticut.

Squatting comfortably in the nearby Caribbean sea, this major abode of the British West Indian people occupies a position which makes her a close friend and neighbor of the three Americas; North, Central, and South. Her restless neighbor and old friend Cuba, has, in times past, furnished opportunities to thousands of Jamaicans. The period which saw these sister islands supplementing each other's economy is now definitely closed.

Today, trade and commercial intercourse, and the struggle for human liberties influence the outlook of the people of all the islands generally. This is one of the legacies of the great depression; and the Negro people on the North American continent no less than the Negro peoples of the West Indies, are on the alert for new outlets for their abundant energies, as it were, to make up for a long established line of endeavors now rapidly vanishing. This search must of necessity be carried out on a higher plane.

Closely associated with the name Jamaica is the banana; and to think of the banana without calling to mind the vast opportunities for creating and acquiring wealth which the organizers of the United Fruit company found in the island of Jamaica is an impossible feat.

Of the total acreage of 72,909 given over to the cultivation of bananas in the island of Jamaica in 1930, 11,159 acres were (directly) cultivated under the aegis of the United Fruit company. The earnings record of this company since its organization convincingly reflects the vast and ever-increasing possibilities of the British West Indian secton of the Caribbean area.

Thus the financial independence and high standard of living enjoyed by thousands of white Americans who are stockholders of the United Fruit company are closely bound up with the fortunes of Jamaica.

Looking at Liberia, only Negro Republic in Africa, and home of the slave set free, we saw its political as well as its economic significance to the Negro people immeasurably enhanced, when its great preserves of rubber were sought out and selected for exploitation by the Firestone Rubber Company. Yet Liberia is thousands of miles removed from the American scene.

Sea Food Abundant

Similarly, it is conceivable that the lobster industry of America and Canada which reached its apex in 1889 yielding 31 million pounds and 54 million pounds respectively of this precious sea food, and declining catastrophically in the case of America, to 10 million pounds in 1933—this in the face of a very sharp increase in the population, accompanied by a corresponding rise in the standard of living—will find America turning Caribbeanward, especially to Jamaica, for lobsters to satisfy the ever-increasing demand, as well as to cushion this dramatic decline.

Today, it is the lowly banana, with the energetic and industrious agricultural population moving in the background, which dramatically links Jamaica and America in an ever-expanding cycle of commercial relations.

Tomorrow will see the lordly lobster and the still more valuable turtle, and a whole line of edible morsels for which the tropical waters are famous, brought into the stronger and regular currents of Jamaica-America trade, yielding big benefits to those who rise early and undertake to translate the implications of geography and climate and the presence of abundant resources in sea food into the sterner vital realities of business and trade. This is like saying: larger opportunities are present, and are available to the colored population of America, as well as to those of the Caribbean lands.

The population of the island of Jamaica stands now at almost 1¼ millions. If we take one million of this total and divide it up into families of 5 per family, we achieve the total of 200,000 families. Using this conservative approach it will be seen that, if 200,000 families expend 12½c per week for fish, the total expenditure per week will be $25,000. This humble estimate will, by the same token, find these families spending $100,000 per month for fish. Per year, this expenditure for fish will reach the respectable sum of $1,200,000. Certainly, this is an objective worthy of the best energies and serious concern of enterprising people. When we speak of opportunities for building Negro business, here concretely is a sample of what we mean. We dare to point convincingly, and now let those who see, advance with confidence and take hold of the unprecedented opportunity which the fisheries of the Caribbean area, especially that of the island of Jamaica, present.

The U. S. Bureau of Fisheries statistics show that in 1933 there were approximately 400 small craft, manned by 1,200 men, actively engaged in fishing, to supply a population of over one million people with one of their main articles of diet.

The factors which yesterday operated to hinder this needed development of an old and ever-prosperous industry in this region, are surmountable today.

Organization Needed

Climate conditions permit continuous production, but compel speed, no less than the application of scientific methods that are employed so casually in continental countries. In short, organization is the crying need of the hour.

The net result of this lack of organization, and in spite of the benefit of a delightful climate, is excessive prices. This factor is ever present, due to an unnatural scarcity resulting from primitive methods of exploitation and a consequent low form of production.

It is worth mentioning that millions of pounds of salted, pickled, smoked, and canned fish are imported annually into the island of Jamaica alone. A report from a reliable source in Kingston, Jamaica, shows that fish imports for the year 1932, totaled 23,525,309 pounds at an importer's price of $1,427,080. Naturally, practical people are asking themselves this question: "But why carry coals to Newcastle?"

Thus it is established that an extensive and ready market exists, the source of supply of this vital commodity is unlimited, and financial returns are immediate. To supplant present chaotic conditions, there is a need for an efficient, modern organization.

Here we see that in addition to the historical forces which bound the Negro peoples of the West Indies to the Negro peoples of all the Americas, there stand clearly revealed definite economic forces which bid fair to bind them together as conspicuously as are the Negro people —in fact, as are all the people of America—bound to the people of the little Republic of Liberia by the bonds of rubber.

These historical and economic forces are exemplified in the activities of two

Stanley R. Facey

Charles H. Tyson

men, Stanley R. Facey and Charles H. Tyson. Mr. Facey, a native of Jamaica, B.W.I., is president and founder of Caribbean Fisheries, Inc., a corporation formed with the specific objective of exploiting the fisheries of the Caribbean area, especially in the island of Jamaica. Mr. Tyson, vice-president and director of the corporation, is a native of Florida. Together, these two men have labored tirelessly to make the corporation the actuality it has today become. Evidence of these outstanding combinations of enterprising spirits flourish on every side; and enterprises such as Victory Mutual Life Insurance Co., and the New York *Amsterdam News* have been carried forward to the highest point of usefulness and service to the entire Negro community, by American and West Indian enterpreneurs. These examples are brilliant, encouraging and highly instructive.

It is possible that Messrs. Facey and Tyson have undertaken the greatest and most fruitful venture ever conceived and put into execution by their kinsmen and contemporaries. Here indeed is enterprise of a high order! Here is a theme to which a Robert Brown Elliott alone, of all the eminent West Indians who served to advance the cause of Negro freedom in America, could do justice.

Certain it is, that his distinguished countryman Claude MacKay, if he were so minded, could so formulate our sentiments and refine our thoughts on this subject as to more convincingly assist us in saying: "If we must live like men, let us not grow conservative, satisfied, after the first task we undertake to do is successfully done. But let us go forward, planning, building, seeking, new and larger opportunities with the zeal and passion for high enterprise evinced before these first tasks were begun."

In the organizing of Caribbean Fisheries, Inc., the implement for effecting the needed transition from primitive to modern industrial conditions in a short time, and under the most favorable conditions has been successfully forged.

And, while to white Americans the island of Jamaica has come to be regarded as good vacation ground, to Negro Americans and West Indians alike, it is beginning to loom large as a land of immediate opportunity and of vast possibilities.

Caribbean Fisheries, Inc., looks Caribbeanward and points the way!

This advertisement appears as a matter of record only and is under no circumstances to be construed as an offering of these securities for sale or as an offer to buy, or as a solicitation of an offer to buy any of such securities. The offering is made only by the Prospectus dated June 22, 1936.

New Issue **CARIBBEAN FISHERIES INC.** June 22, 1936

Existing under the Laws of the State of New York

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL $125,000.00

Divided Into 125,000 Shares, Par Value $1.00 Each

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PRICE $3.75 *per unit* (2 Shares Class A) (1 Share Class B)

Copies of prospectus may be obtained from the undersigned

CARIBBEAN FISHERIES INC. Suite No. 320, 209 West 125th Street

Book Review

A SIGN FOR CAIN by Grace Lumpkin. 376 pp. Lee Furman, New York. $2.50.

Within the past few years the so called proletarian literary movement has definitely made itself a recognized force in the stream of American literary expression. One of its principal exponents is Grace Lumpkin whose previous novel, *To Make My Bread* possibly more so than any other work proved the possibilities within this field of interpretation if the material is properly treated. The individual style designating this work has been extended in *A Sign for Cain* in which the author presents a kaleidoscopic picture against a southern background teeming with a variety of people all of whose lives are controlled by the social forces around them.

Denis, a young Negro, returns to the South from the North where he has come in contact with communistic doctrines that make him dream of "a world in which greed and conflict of classes and races were abolished so that these things did not bear down in all their devious and unsuspected ways on men's characters and lives." With the aid of Bill Duncan, a white liberal also addicted to communism, Denis works toward the organization of white and black sharecroppers, for they realize the fight for better economic conditions is a class struggle and not a racial one. Among the conservative whites Bill is denounced for deserting southern tradition, and Denis is regarded as a dangerous "nigger" who must be carefully guarded. When Evelyn Gardner is murdered by her dissolute, sadistic nephew, Jim Gault, the crime is placed on Denis and Ficents, another Negro. Despite the persevering efforts of Bill and a few comrades to save the accused men, Jim vindicates his southern manhood by breaking into the jail and killing the two innocent men on the eve the lawyers procured by Bill from the North were perfecting preparations to save them. Disillusioned at the inhumanity of his townsmen, Bill finally gathers strength as he realizes that Denis' death is only a prelude to the more relentless fight necessary to secure the freedom of the masses. A small group of white and blacks in secret session pledge their faith in the sentiment of Henry Adams:

> "Two of our number have been murdered. Tomorrow we will take the bodies of those two from the murderers and the day after we will follow them to their graves. We are going to march behind them without turning, straight on—and all hell can't stop us."

The narrative is flexible enough to contrast sharply the characters evolving from these panoramic cross sections of American life. Through them is unfolded the clashing of the old and new, the extinction of a lost social system, the struggle for economic and idealistic independence, and the futility of life in a degraded land. Rather than emphasizing a marked realistic portrayal, the author subordinates characterization to the major social philosophy that becomes the dominating interest of the book. Colonel Gault, poverty-stricken though he is, in his adherence to a dead aristocracy; Jim in his degenerate nature steeped in gross sensuality; Caroline in her possession of a superficiality that exposes her selfishness; Denis, a new type of southern Negro in literature, in his struggle to

(Continued on page 315)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Asheville N.A.A.C.P. May Aid Martin Moore

The conviction of Martin Moore, bell hop in the Battery Park hotel in Asheville, N. C., for the murder of Helen Clevenger, New York University co-ed, who was a guest in the hotel, has not satisfied the Asheville, N. C., branch of the N.A.A.C.P. that Moore is guilty.

The branch president, the Rev. M. L. Breeding, was an interested spectator at the trial and at its conclusion he announced that there were several points which were not cleared up in the conviction. Rev. Breeding has written the national office that at least half of the white and colored people in Asheville believe that Moore is innocent.

The national office has received several anonymous letters and three or four signed letters asking that the association become active in the case, and expressing the belief that Moore is innocent. Rumors are flying thick and fast in and out of Asheville, but the national office has made it plain that while it always stands ready to aid in cases where it is plainly demonstrated that a defendant or plaintiff has been denied his rights because of color, it cannot plunge into a murder case on rumor alone. So far, although there is a strong suspicion in the minds of all reasonable people that Moore is not guilty, nothing has appeared in the way of substantial evidence to warrant national action. Some of the rumors are supposed to have come from members high on the staff of the Battery Park hotel. One anonymous letter to the national office comes from a white person in Kansas City, Mo. The writer states that "he heard from someone who knew and was close to the management of the hotel" that Moore was not the guilty one.

Some of the white people in Asheville are trying to discourage the Asheville branch from proceeding to raise money to appeal the case to the state supreme court, but the branch has gone forward with two mass meetings and has raised some money.

Meanwhile, with Moore in the death row in the state penitentiary at Raleigh, the state, through the attorney-general, has moved to dismiss Moore's appeal before the supreme court on the ground that the time for filing appeal has passed. However, the judge at the trial gave Moore and his lawyers 45 days to prefer the appeal. In fighting the motion to dismiss the appeal, Moore's lawyer, Sanford W. Brown, recites that his client is a pauper and is unable to pay a court stenographer to transcribe the record of the trial in time to appeal. The court had not handed down a decision on September 16 on this latest legal tangle.

Protests are Lodged Against Rep. Warren

When it was rumored in the political columns of several daily papers that Rep. Lindsay C. Warren of North Carolina was being seriously considered by President Roosevelt for the office of Comptroller General of the United States, the national office and branches of the N.A.A.C.P. over the country sent protests to the White House.

The Comptroller General is one of the most independent of federal office holders and is almost a law unto himself. Even the President cannot alter his decisions. The job is a fifteen-year one. Colored people who remember that Rep. Warren made rules and regulations for the public restaurant in the House wing of the Capitol to suit the customs and prejudices of his North Carolina are afraid that in his judgment of the allocation and appropriation of moneys he will exercise similar prejudice.

The President has not made the appointment as yet and Mr. Warren's friends in North Carolina are saying that he does not wish the job, but colored people are still on guard because there are few men who will turn down a fifteen-year job at a good salary.

Questionnaire Sent to Candidates

Candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives have been asked by all the N.A.A.C.P. branches to sign the following pledge:

> "I pledge, if elected, to do everything possible to bring to a vote and to vote for an effective anti-lynching bill in the 75th Congress. I also promise to oppose all legislation before the 75th Congress which discriminates on account of race, creed, or color, in relief, jobs, civil service, or in any other way."

The N.A.A.C.P. emphasizes not only the candidate stand on the all-important question of an anti-lynching bill, but the equally important matter of discrimination in the civil service. Branches, individuals and other interested groups are asked to press their candidates on the matter of lynching and discrimination in civil service between now and the election.

Some Colored People Ask for Separate Park

The city council of Marion, Ind., on Tuesday, September 1, heard arguments from two groups of colored people for and against the establishment of a city park exclusively for colored people at Twelfth and Geneva streets.

Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, president of the Indiana Conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches, spoke against the plan. She said the program would lead to the segregation of the colored people and their being barred from other parks. She had a petition from those opposed. She said she believed her race should enjoy the same rights and privileges as others.

Walter Willett, colored, for the plan, said the movement had the whole hearted support "of the thinking colored people of Marion." He argued against a community house. Mayor Barney told the supporters of the movement, "the city owes you this park and I'd like to see you have it."

Nomination Open for Board of Directors

Notices have been sent to the branches of the nominations for members of the board of directors to be elected January 4, 1937. The nominating committee is composed of three members elected at the 27th annual conference held in Baltimore last June: J. Franklin Bourne, New York; R. Nathaniel Dett, Rochester; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore; and three members elected by the board of directors on September 14: Judge Charles E. Toney, the Rev. Lloyd Imes and Miss Frances Williams. The seventh member is the chairman of the board, Dr. Louis T. Wright.

The nominating committee will meet at the national office between October 15 and 31. Suggestions on nominations may be sent to the committee or to any member of the committee. Independent nominations which will be considered at the election January 4 along with the report of the nominating committee may be made, according to the constitution, "upon request in writing and at least 15 members of the Association." Such independent nominations must be in New York thirty days before the annual meeting or on December 4, 1936.

Branch News

MEETINGS

Neighborhood celebration. A five minute address was given by a representative of the **Uniontown, Pa.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. at the Neighborhood Celebration of St. Paul's A.M.E. church August 13.

Picnic. Members of the **Pueblo, Colo.,** branch held a picnic August 8 at City park. Games and contests were a part of the afternoon program. A discussion of the work of the Association was presided over by L. C. Mercer.

Musical program. A public meeting of the **Toledo, O.,** branch was held August 19 at the Warren A.M.E. church. William T. McKnight, 2d, was the speaker. Reports of committee chairmen followed the business session. A musical program was the feature of the evening.

Celebration planned. Members and friends attended the meeting of the **Stamford, Conn.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. at Elks hall, August 21. Plans were made for an anniversary celebration.

Anniversary picnic. The **Galesburg, Ill.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. celebrated its first anniversary with a picnic at Lake Storey, on August 30. There were horseshoe contests, a baseball game and other sports.

Celebration. Troy, N. Y. members of the N.A.A.C.P. had a picnic at Ford Park, August 9. The affair was in celebration of their first anniversary. A ball game between the single and married men was one of the features of the day.

Council session. The **Uniontown, Pa.,** branch sponsored a get-together council August 27 in the lecture room of St. Paul's A.M.E. church. The program for the event follows:

Song, national anthem; prayer, Rev. N. J. West, pastor of Mt. Olivet church in Stewart avenue; solo, Mrs. A. E. Morris; brief speech by Mrs. Alice Rose, assistant chairman of educational committee, to introduce the guest speaker, Rev. J. W. Jarvis, D.D., presiding elder of A.M.E. Allegheny conference of the Pittsburgh district; Negro anthem; speech, Rev. J. E. King, pastor of Mount Rose church, Grant street; response, Mrs. N. J. McClure, supervisor of WPA playground project at Leonard field, Crossland avenue; sidelights on civic and welfare activities, Judge Harry A. Cottom; solo, Rev. I. B. Pierce, pastor Zion A.M.E. church, East Main street; benediction, Rev. N. J. West.

The president of the branch is Mrs. Emma L. D. Connor and Mrs. Hazel Snider is the secretary.

Members of the **Media, Pa.,** branch met September 1 at the First Baptist church. The branch is mourning the death of George E. Somerville, its president, who passed away at Mercer hospital in Philadelphia, September 1.

Picnic. The **Hugoton, Kans.,** branch celebrated its anniversary with a picnic at Lake Larrabee August 27. There was a basket dinner at noon. In the afternoon there were speeches, special features and amusements, including swimming, boating and fishing.

Those in charge of the picnic were W. S. Currin, president and the members of the reception committee, Mrs. R. L. Denine, Mrs. John Stamps and Mrs. Robert Elliott.

The **Springfield, Ill.,** branch met August 10 and 28 at Douglass Community center.

Mrs. Gordon H. Jones, wife of the vice-president of the **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch and the chairman of the Metropolitan oratorical contest committee died in August. She was a faithful worker for the N.A.A.C.P.

Anti-war speaker. A representative of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. spoke at the picnic of the American League Against War and Fascism in Wildwood Park Sunday, August 8.

The **Hopkinsville, Ky.,** branch met August 31 in Friendship Hall. Walter Robinson is president and Dr. P. T. Frazier, Jr., is secretary.

The **Springfield, Ill.,** branch met August 28 to plan fall and winter work.

Program for Year. Mrs. T. G. Nutter, chairman of the program committee of the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch has announced the following program for the winter months:

September—Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president of the Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

October—The Dramatic club of Boyd junior high school.

November—The octette of the choir of West Virginia State college.

December—The Players' guild of the high school at Institute.

January—Phi Delta Kappa sorority.

February—Hi-Y clubs of Garnet and Boyd high schools.

March—Debating club of West Virginia State college.

April—Woman's auxiliary of the Charleston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

May—Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

The **Newcastle, Pa.,** branch met September 8 and elected delegates to the Pennsylvania State Conference meeting in Media.

State Conference. The annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches was held in Media September 13-14. Walter White, the national secretary, addressed the mass meeting on September 13 and Miss Juanita E. Jackson, leader of the association's youth work lead a discussion Monday morning, September 14.

Outing. The **Decatur, Ill.,** branch held a Labor Day outing in Fairview Park September 7. The picnic was attended by persons from Decatur, Taylorville, Lincoln, Bloomington and Champaign.

EDUCATION

Protest discrimination. A resolution was offered by the **Springfield, Ill.,** branch at a meeting of the board of education August 10 demanding that colored teachers be hired. Dr. D. E. Webster spoke in behalf of the resolution declaring that the board should not discriminate against the colored race. Simeon Osby, Jr., charged that the board dodged the issue. The president of the board suggested that the N.A.A.C.P. sponsor a school board candidate to find out the sentiment. Fred C. Dodds, a board member, favored hiring colored teachers. The matter was referred to the board as a whole.

No Colored Teachers. The Board of Education of Springfield, Ill., at a special meeting September 4 turned down a demand that colored people be employed to teach in the Springfield public schools. A motion by Fred C. Dodds, board member, that the first vacancy to occur among cadet teachers be filled by a colored man or woman failed for want of a second.

The board had taken the matter of employing colored teachers under advisement when the proposal was made sometime ago by the Springfield branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and others.

President Harry H. Coe, in explaining the stand of the board, said he felt the community did not favor hiring colored teachers at the present time and suggested the colored groups attempt to educate the public to accept their idea on the matter.

DISCRIMINATION

Melvin D. Halsey, president of the **Plainfield, N. J.,** branch spoke at Freedom Hill in the Watchung mountains September 6 on the topic "Race Discrimination." The lecture was sponsored by the Plainfield Committee Against Racial Discrimination.

YOUTH COUNCILS

First Meeting. The members of the youth division of the **Newcastle, Pa.,** branch held their first meeting of the fall September 3 in St. Luke's A.M.E. Zion church. John E. Young, president, was in the chair. Among those on the program were Marie Jones, Robert Engs, Love Johnson, Pauline Dinkens, Alice Gillespie, James Fuller, the Dixie Echoes Quartette, Rebekah Muldrow, Kenneth Cobbs, Walter Smith, Fred Wilkes, Jr., Herman Morris. The principal address was given by the Rev. M. L. Meeks on the subject "The Challenge of Youth." Remarks were made by Mrs. Blanche Dillard, president of the senior branch and Dr. J. A. Gillespie, president of the Pennsylvania State Conference. The committee in charge of the program was Ruth Engs, Catherine Fitzhugh, Josie Mae Hill and Mildred Clark.

Reports. The Youth Council of the **Titusville, Mims** branch of **Brevard County, Fla.,** is having weekly meetings under the leadership of Harry T. Moore, its president. At a recent meeting the addresses of the Honorable Harold L. Ickes and Dr. Louis T. Wright given at the annual conference were reported upon by the Misses Nettie and Virginia Powell.

Douglas White told about the leading Negro graduates described in the August issue of The Crisis.

David Simms, Mary Warren and Charlie Mae McCurdy summarized general news of the activities of Negroes throughout the world.

Harold McCurdy gave a review of the economic life of the Negro as presented in "Brown America" by Edwin R. Embree.

One of the new members enrolled was Jacile Warren who represented the southeast in the Elks national oratorical contest at Brooklyn, N. Y.

PROTESTS

Brutality charged. Early in August several members of the **Decatur, Ill.,** branch protested the mistreatment by a policeman of Walter Blair who had been arrested and charged with carrying concealed weapons. The charge was dismissed August 21 and the demands for an investigation have been dropped.

Black Legion investigation. The **Los Angeles, Calif.,** branch headed by Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., has launched an investigation of the asserted beating July 17 of

Horace Hampton by members of the Black Legion. Hampton, son of a prominent Los Angeles family, was said to have been beaten by members of the Black Legion posing as police officers.

CAMPAIGNS

Goal of 100. On August 21 the **Danville, Ill.,** branch launched its campaign for an increased membership at a meeting at Browns Funeral Home. They expect to add 62 members to their present enrollment of 38. Robert Turner is chairman of the membership committee leading the campaign.

At the initial meeting, the Rev. Tobias Hutchins, president of the branch, served as chairman. Mrs. W. H. Wilson was selected to represent the local N.A.A.C.P. on Danville's Council of Social Agencies.

Starts fall work. The **Albany, N. Y.,** branch is getting off to a flying start on the winter's work with a short campaign in September under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary. Dr. Joseph B. Robinson is president of the branch.

New trial. The **Jacksonville, Fla.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P., through its attorney, S. D. McGill, secured a change of venue early in July in the case of four young men charged with the murder of a white man in 1933.

Fall campaign. The **Baltimore, Md.,** branch is having its fall membership campaign the last week in September and the first week in October under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary. Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson is president of the branch.

Survey planned. The **Mobile, Ala.,** branch has outlined an extensive survey to be undertaken on the problems affecting colored people in that city. The survey will cover employment, health and sanitation, Negro business, the ballot, lack of comfort facilities in department stores and filling stations and especially lack of employment of Negroes by stores enjoying heavy patronage of colored people. The branch is continuing through its secretary, J. L. LeFlore, its persistent work of the past four years to improve the traveling facilities offered colored people by railroads in the South. Mr. LeFlore is addressing himself at present to the securing of air-conditioned coaches for colored people on trains which now provide air-conditioned coaches for whites but none for Negroes.

Book Review

(*Continued from page 312*)

liberate both whites and blacks from economic oppression; and Bill in his efforts to establish justice for the blacks, all contribute toward the delineation of the involved complexities of changing social ideals. The varying personalities of the blacks and the orgiastic maneuvers of the lust-loving mob also aid in the effective presentation of the author's principal premise.

Contrary to the manner of many class-conscious writers Miss Lumpkin allows her philosophical approach to grow from her material. If the work is one of social protest and propaganda, such protest and propaganda seldom enter as direct preachments or indictments. Here people are simply caught up in an entangled web of circumstances out of which naturally develops Bill's tenet as explained to Caroline:

"Your truth is an end in itself,—our revolution is not. It is a means you understand, a means for attaining a good life for the majority of people, for the workers and for all people in the end. It is a temporary truth. A scientific theory or discovery is not a final truth, but it is a step toward objective knowledge."

Of major importance is the author's treatment of Negro characterization. Definitely she breaks away from the old romanticized, plantation-loving Negro typical of a majority of characterizations of southern Negroes by white writers. Robert Rylee in his *Deep Dark River* made an advance in this respect, but the characterization of Mose gradually weakened toward the end of the story until many of the attributes of the old formula appear. Miss Lumpkin does not make this mistake. Despite the lack of an educational background, Denis has learned life through the school of experience, and always he is possessed of an aggressive, fighting manhood that never cringes even in the face of opposition. There is a strong similarity between Denis and Angelo Herndon. The other Negro characters develop logically in accord with the natural portrayal of Denis. Disregarding the controversy that the left wing school of literature has created, few will deny that Miss Lumpkin has made a contribution to Negro characterization and that her social philosophy contains much that if put to application would ameliorate many present social ills.

JAMES O. HOPSON

Socialism

(*Continued from page 295*)

form has endorsed anti-lynching legislation and the end of all types of discrimination.

From time to time I am told that this or that local of the Socialist party falls short of the Socialist ideal. I want, therefore, in print to state what I have said to some of you who may read this article in private conversation. The national executive committee of the Socialist party, of which I am a member, desires to know of every concrete instance in which a Socialist local and any community may fail to live up to the Socialist standard of solidarity and brotherhood of workers.

We are proud to cite as an evidence of Socialist good faith the work done in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. This organization, of course, is a bona fide labor union. It is not controlled by the Socialist party. It happens, however, that it was initiated by Socialist influence and in the main by Socialists. It has been a triumphant demonstration that the race problem even in the South is not insoluble. White and colored workers in the cotton fields naturally and as a matter of course came to understand exploitation and all the shame of the plantation system, that they applied to both races and that neither race could be free of its misery and suffering until together both races were free. Hence they set up one union with equality of its members. I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears great meetings of white and colored workers sing together their songs and together pledging their loyalty to the cause of emancipating themselves and their children from the exploitation of the plantation system, perhaps the worst in America.

What is happening in Arkansas dramatically in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is happening, I am glad to say, increasingly in many of the unions in industrial cities. The influence of the Socialist party is wholly on this side. Such fraternity which is the necessary basis and guarantee of true equality.

This, then, is in brief the case for Socialism. We ask your vote, but not merely your vote. We ask you to join us in a great crusade, a crusade which cannot end until we establish in this world which machinery has made interdependent, a great family of nations, a federation of cooperative commonwealths. No longer can we hope for peace with men and nations divided into the House of Have and of Have Not. The price of peace, of freedom, as well as of prosperity, is planned production for use on the basis of social ownership, and this principle must be applied in America and throughout the world. The Socialist appeal is an appeal for your help as comrades in the great cause of our common emancipation.

LIBERIAN MINISTER HERE

Lester A. Walton, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to Liberia, arrived in New York on the Ile de France on August 27, with his family for a sixty-day leave of absence from his official duties in Monrovia.

Read . . . . . .

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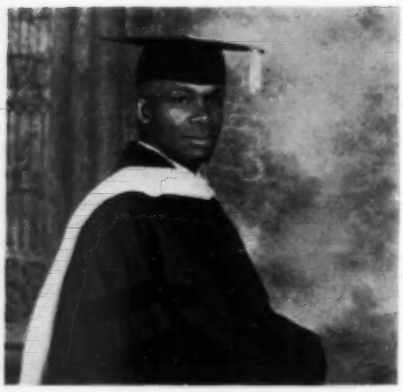

Dr. Edward L. Washington

The double distinction of being the only Negro, as far as available records reveal, to hold the degree of doctor of education from one of the major universities of the country, and the first to qualify for the doctor of philosophy degree in physical education goes to Edward L. Washington, a resident of New York City.

Dr. Washington is the acting head of the Thomas Jefferson high school annex, Brooklyn, N. Y., where he directs the health education of more than 2,000 boys, ninety-nine per cent of whom are white. He is one of two Negro teachers on a faculty of 350, and his four immediate assistants are white.

The doctorate in education was awarded by the school of education of New York university on October 10, 1935, and was formally received at the university's one hundred and fourth commencement exercise on Wednesday, June 10, 1936. The requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy were completed at Teacher's college, Columbia university and New York university.

More important than the degree, itself, is the fact that the study upon which the award was based literally revamps the health education standards used in the junior high schools of all New York City.

Dr. Washington's thesis, "An Evaluation of the New York City Junior High School Physical Fitness Test," represents four years of intense study and practical experimentation and is based upon the records of 10,000 junior high schools boys in thirteen junior high schools of the city.

His findings were unanimously adopted on June 18, 1934 by the Health Education Committee of the Board of Education of New York City to revise the old physical fitness test that has been in use for the past twenty-five years. The new standards will effect some 100,000 junior high school boys.

A native of Paducah, Kentucky, Dr. Washington has spent the greater part of his life in Chicago where his mother still resides and where he pursued undergraduate work at the University of Chicago and graduated from the Sir George Williams college with the degree of bachelor of physical education.

He is also a graduate of the University of Illinois with a bachelor of science degree in physical education and athletic coaching; holds two supervisor's diplomas, one in physical education and one in health education, and a master of arts degree from Teacher's college, Columbia university.

Dr. Washington is one of three Negroes licensed to teach physical education in the New York City school system. The other two are Miss Leolya M. Nelson, acting departmental head of the Franklin K. Lane high school annex, Brooklyn, and Frank Turner of the James Monroe high school, Bronx.

Back to Slavery

HARDLY a year goes by but what proposals are advanced in one section of the country or another which, no matter how ingeniously phrased, usually mean a return to slavery or virtual slavery for colored people.

In the dark days of the depression when the Negro, always dangerously perched on the margin of employment, was thrown heavily upon relief rolls, numerous cities in the North advanced the fallacious idea of "shipping the Negroes back South." These cities ignored entirely the fact that the South already had as heavy a burden as it could carry and that thousands of Negroes were starving and going ragged and shelterless in the rural regions of Dixie.

The most concrete of these proposals was made in New Jersey, but a rising storm of protest quickly caused its withdrawal.

Surprisingly enough, a minor official of the labor department of the State of New York some months later made a suggestion framed in somewhat smoother language that colored people be "deported" to the South. This also was quickly checked.

It remains now for a new magazine in New York, which made its first appearance on the newsstands September 9, to make the most brazen proposition of slavery for colored people yet announced publicly either in the North or in the South. This magazine, "The New York Woman," had in its first issue a smart-aleck article by Lois Mattox Miller entitled, "Wanted: A Part-time Maid." In this article the writer in pert language details her difficulties in securing a satisfactory part-time worker. She talks of German, Irish and Negro maids, finding fault with all of them and poking fun at all of them, especially the colored maid. The body of the article is bad enough, but might be dismissed as an attempt at "smart writing," if it were not for the amazing closing paragraph, which reads as follows:

> "Far be it from me to advocate the stuffing of the ballot boxes, but the Democrats or the Republicans can take this suggestion for what it's worth. There are no finer part-time

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maids than those colored gals down South. I'd suggest that someone bring them to New York in large numbers, house them at centralized points (far from Harlem!), furnish them snuff and Hoyt's cologne, give them a safe place to dance and fight on Saturday nights, and keep them away from Father Divine. That someone would harvest for his party a great number of votes and the eternal gratitude of New York Women."

Note the viciousness underneath the supposed cleverness and wit of this paragraph. Colored women are to be housed in a special place; they are to be kept away from Harlem; they are to be furnished with snuff and cologne; they are to be given "a safe place to dance and fight on Saturday nights"; and they are to be kept away from Father Divine.

If we go back to slavery days we will find that this proposal is borrowed *in toto* from the plantation system of slavery. There too, the slaves were housed in a special place (cabins behind the Big House); they were furnished with snuff and tobacco and food enough to keep them able to work; they were allowed to dance in their cabins and "have a good time" fighting or doing anything else as long as they stayed on the plantation; they were also allowed to have a certain kind of a religion—a religion which would keep them meek and satisfied with their lot, which would not make them ask for shorter hours and better wages or better treatment.

In short, the proposal of the writer in "The New York Woman" is a complaint against such freedom as labor has been able to achieve and a barefaced proposal to place a section of labor back into slavery.

This impudent viciousness ought to be repudiated at once by the editors of the "New York Woman," and colored and white women in New York City and its environs to whom the magazine caters should be insistent in their protests on this astounding debut article. —R.W.

GIVES $200 TO DEMOCRATS

Dr. C. B. Powell of New York City, an officer of the Victory Mutual Life Insurance company and co-owner with Dr. P. M. H. Savory of the New York *Amsterdam News*, has contributed $200 to a fund he has started known as the Colored Roosevelt Fund. All monies contributed will go to the Democratic National Committee, said Dr. Powell.

NOVEMBER: YOUTH NUMBER

The bulk of the November issue will be devoted to youth problems and to the Youth Councils and college chapters of the N.A.A.C.P. now being organized over the country. A section will be given over to children, as has been the custom of THE CRISIS for many years. Pictures of and information about babies and young children should reach THE CRISIS office not later than October 2.

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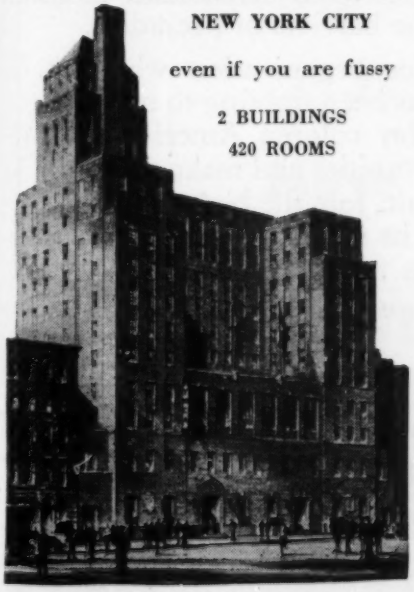

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